

YOUNG SOCIALIST FORUM 1967-1973

(1962-1966 not available in this archive)

*(*italics- pages on file)*

YSF – Vol. 4 No. 3 (24) – May-June 1967 Editor- John Riddell

1967-05May-1 Cover- Canada's Centennial: 100 Years of Injustice

1967-05May-12 Text- "The Fathers of Confederation" (biographies)

YSF-Vol. 5 No. 1 (28) – January-February 1968

1968-01Jan-1 Cover: NDP –Labor – Students

YSF-Vol. 5 No. 3 (30) – May-June 1968

1968-05May-1 (cover) Women: a young socialist view

YSF – January 1970

1970-01Jan-1 YSF cover- Revoution until victory – Defend the Arab Revolution

**1970-Jan Palestinian struggle – hope for Arabs and Jews – H. Kopyto (2 pp)*

1970-01Jan-2 'If high schools are jails, technical schools are maximum security"

**1970-Jan "The Inside Agitator" (Harry Kopyto): Vietnam, France, Quebec*

**1970-Jan No Canadian independence without socialism–Joe Young(W15a)*

**1970-Jan Women –the oppressed majority – Colleen Levis*

YSF – February 1970

1970-02Feb-1 Women's liberation protests 'Miss University' – Alice K.

1970-02Feb-2a Building a socialist youth movement

1970-02Feb-2b Photo- Student tour in Cuba – Join the YS/LJS

**1970-Feb Growing interest in Arab struggle*

**1970-Feb Student leader predicts socialism in New Zealand (Fyson & Locke)*

**1970-Feb Big Business poisons us with pollution*

**1970-Feb Lenin tells youth – learn the past to prepare the future*

YSF – March 1970

- 1970-03Mar-1 Rosa Luxembourg – her example inspires revolutionary women
- 1970-03Mar-2 We want Vietnam assemblies in our schools! YS--SFU to SGWU
- *1970-Mar *Nationalize the polluters!*
- *1970-Mar *We demand summer jobs*
- *1970-Mar *Cuba “out of sight” -- Venceremos Brigade*
- *1970-Mar *Bourgeois and workers' revolutions contrasted*
- *1970-Mar *Americanization of the University – how to clip the eagle's wings*

YSF – April 1970

- 1970-04Apr-1 Accomplices in crime against Vietnam (Trudeau & Nixon)
- 1970-04Apr-2 Women's liberation strategy- independent organization
- *1970-April *Belgium: students aid strikers*
- *1970-April *(Ms. Manon) Léger contests Quebec seat*
- *1970-April *(Is) Aggression in our genes or in society?*
- *1970-April *Schools shape students to fit system*
- *1970-April *Stalinist past haunts revival of Communist Party Youth*
- *1970-April *100 Anniversary of Lenin's confidence in youth*

YSF – May 1970

- 1970-05May-1 Louis Riel – his spirit lives on – self-determination for all people
- 1970-05May-2 Tide of radicalism rising in Maritimes– YS in high school elections
- *1970-May *Stop invasion of Cambodia – withdraw now!*
- *1970-May *Trinidadians hail Black and Indian unity*
- *1970-May *YSers run high school rights election campaigns*
- *1970-May *Socialist candidate on Quebec labor party (Léger)*
- *1970-May *Sit-ins mark rise of student movement – Colleen Levis*
- *1970-May *The origins of Stalinism*
- *1970-May *Students win right to speak – Free abortions our right!*

YSF – June 1970

- 1970-06June-1 Massacre at Kent, Jackson-- General student strike hits US campuses
- 1970-06June-2 Antiwar victories won in high schools
- *1970-June *Abortion Caravan points way forward*
- *1970-June *Mass student unemployment*
- *1970-June *Create the anti-war university!*
- *1970-June *Mass actions sweep globe, by Judy Koch (Kent State Massacre)*
- *1970-June *Why Nixon drinks Canada Dry, by Ken Wolfson*
- *1970-June *Solidarity with the Sir George (Williams) students sparks Trinidad revolt*

YSF – July-August 1970

- 1970-07Jul-Aug-1 Turned off? Mandel on alienation
- 1970-07Jul-Aug-2 'What is the burgling of a bank compared to the founding of a bank?'
- *1970-July *Students, workers unite for jobs*
- *1970-July *Israeli reveals political repression at home, by Arie Bober*
- *1970-July *Socialist summer seminars*
- *1970-July *Review- Indian struggle for sovereignty, by Al Cappe*
- *1970-July *Review- Three-Penny Opera (Brecht)*

YOUNG SOCIALIST (tabloid format)

YS – Vol. 1 No. 1 – September 1970

- 1970-09Sept-1 Up from under Women unite
- 1970-09Sept-2 Saskatchewan New Left leaders join YS – SFU (BC) struggle reborn
- 1970-09Sept-3 Capitalism fouls things up – Join the Young Socialists
- *1970-Sept *(Women) Taught to be 'beautiful'*
- *1970-Sept *Schools for people, not profit (YS student program)*
- *1970-Sept *School sit-in wins Red Power*
- *1970-Sept *'Socialism is inefficient' by Wayne Roberts*
- *1970-Sept *Trotsky – rebel to revolutionary, by Zane Boyd*
- *1970-Sept *So your school's dead, eh?*
- *1970-Sept *Nobody burns books in Canada, do they? By Al Cappe*

- *1970-Sept *Canada – the revolution of the Youth, by Colleen Levis*
- *1970-Sept *Manitoba – Canada's revolutionary heritage, by George Addison*

YS – Vol. 1 No. 2 – October 1970 (not available to this website – on file at Nat. Archives)

- *1970-Oct *Our goals \$7000, 1000 new subs*
- *1970-Oct *The high rise lowdown, by Wayne Roberts*
- *1970-Oct *High schools women's liberation, by Debbie Raleigh & Katie Curtin*
- *1970-Oct *The politics of pollution*
- *1970-Oct *The web of women's oppression*
- *1970-Oct *Drive the war-makers off campus!*
- *1970-Oct *Che and Blanco – Venceremos!*

YS – Vol. 1 No. 3 – November 1970

- 1970-11Nov-1 *CRISIS! Quebec under seige – the fight for civil liberties*
- 1970-11Nov-2 *Attend the YS/LJS Convention – Montreal Dec. 31-Jan.2*
- *1970-Nov *Editorial- Stop the repression (Quebec War Measures Act arrests)*
- *1970-Nov *(Ms Manon) Léger for Mayor (Montreal) – socialist campaign*
- *1970-Nov *Quebec – Canada's internal colony, by Dick Fidler*
- *1970-Nov *Inside Trudeau's jails, by Penny Simpson*
- *1970-Nov *War Measures Act – Actions across Canada – Montreal teach-in*
- *1970-Nov *Leon Trotsky on terrorism – Canada's concentration camps*
- *1970-Nov *The Column- (The YS across the country) by Ian Angus*
- *1970-Nov *(back cover) YS/LJS Conference in Montreal*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 1 – January-February 1971

- 1971-01Jan-1 *Socialist convention in occupied Quebec (On to Ottawa Feb.13)*
- 1971-01Jan-2 *Young Socialists meet – biggest convention plans campaigns*
- 1971-01Jan-3 *Free the prisoners! Free Quebec!*
- *1971-Jan *Conference builds abortion rights*
- *1971-Jan *Human nature- are we really aggressive beasts?*
- *1971-Jan *Turmoil in Eastern Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia), by Zane Boyd*

- *1971-Jan *No. 24,609 needs a bedpan, by Sylvia Harper*
- *1971-Jan *Peruvian peasant leader freed (Hugo Blanco)*
- *1971-Jan *Graduating? See you at the welfare office*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 2 – March 1971

- 1971-03Mar-1 *Remember what happened to Marie-Antoinette?*
- 1971-03Mar-2 *Saskatoon, Acadian rights (YS regional reports)*
- 1971-03Mar-3 *Socialism on tour – UBC elects socialist – Students back profs*
- *1971-Mar *Editorial- Nixon out of Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam*
- *1971-Mar *Larue-Langlois exposes trial – (The Montreal 5 defendants)*
- *1971-Mar *High school women demand liberation*
- *1971-Mar *Too many people? By Ian Angus*
- *1971-Mar *The student movement- alive and kicking*
- *1971-Mar *Americans, Amercanization, and Education, by Al Cappe*
- 1971-Mar *Jesus Christ – suuper-profit*
- *1971-Mar *Review- 'The Confession' – Czechoslovakian socialist democracy*
- *1971-Mar *Sisterhood is powerful Ottawa Feb. 13 IWD report*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 3 – April 1971

- 1971-04Apr-1 *What makes Uncle Sammy run? In Southeast Asia and Canada*
- 1971-04Apr-2 *SFU (BC) Trent (Ontario) elect Young Socialists*
- 1971-04Apr-3 *U of Toronto campaign shakes up the campus*
- *1971-Apr *Quebec student upsurge, by Colleen Levis*
- *1971-Apr *Paris high school student victory*
- *1971-Apr *High school exams cause advanced rot, by Allen Klarreich*
- *1971-Apr *Campus cutbacks spark struggle, by YS organizer Carole Oleniuk*
- *1971-Apr *(centre) ' We are the people your parents warned you about! '*
- *1971-Apr *The Battle of Rockefeller Centre (Diego Rivera's mural)*
- *1971-Apr *What made Blanco revolutionary (interview with Peruvian leader)*
- *1971-Apr *Czech 'Trotskyists' jailed*
- *1971-Apr *(column) Storm Warnings (YS notes from across the country)*

*1971-Apr *Student women- 'Birth control is our right' by Lynn Christie*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 4 – May 1971

1971-05May-1 Exclusive interview with John Lennon & Yoko Ono
1971-05May-2 YS at NDP convention – Sask., Halifax, Winnipeg
1971-05May-3 Waterloo cross-Canada Socialist Educational Conference
*1971-May *Who is responsible for violence? By Don Tapscott*
*1971-May *Quebec verdict exposes War Measures, by Penny Simpson*
*1971-May *Open housing fight closes Xavier (U., Halifax)*
*1971-May *SFU – 91% against Viet War*
*1971-May *Czech students found guilty of struggling for socialism*
*1971-May *Socialists protest Prague trials*
*1971-May *A Canadian student visits China*
*1971-May *I'm taking my body off the market, by Jacquie Henderson*
*1971-May *Some thoughts (on unemployment)*
*1971-May *New revolutionary paper hits Quebec streets (LSO's Libération)*
*1971-May *A perverted society warps our sexuality*
*1971-May *School cutbacks spark walk-outs (Toronto)*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 5 – June-July 1971

1971-06June-1 Waterloo is coming! Socialist Educational Conference
1971-06June-2 1971 Conference – Canada's revolutionary past and future
*1971-June *Editorial- Trudeau- open the schools to transient youth*
*1971-June *How I learned to forget my French and speak White*
*1971-June *Paris- thousands demonstrate (RD -Paris Commune)*
*1971-June *Cutback profits, not education*
*1971-June *Sask YS campaigned for a NDP government*
*1971-June *100-Year rip-off- B.C. Centennial supplement (13 pp insert)*
*1971-June *The next 100 years, by Mary Trew & Beverly Bernardo*
*1971-June *What's the solution to pollution?*
*1971-June *(column) Storm Warnings (regional YS reports)*

- *1971-June *High School revolt brewing (BC and SFU students)*
- *1971-June *Kaethe Kollwitz- 'Women had enough of war!' by Martha Ellis*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 6 – August 1971

- 1971-08Aug-1 *Trudeau's Pentagon Orders – Accomplice in Genocide (Vietnam)*
- 1971-08Aug-2 *Storm warnings- Edmonton, Second YS student pres., Antiwar*
- *1971-Aug *Editorial- Plan for Fall offensive*
- *1971-Aug *War, poverty, pollution- It's all in your head, by Sims & Johnson*
- *1971-Aug *Civil rights defended in Quebec, by Don Tapscott*
- *1971-Aug *Opportunities For (co-opting) Youth, by Wally Belyea*
- *1971-Aug *When is a student (issue) not a student (issue) (debate Maoists)*
- *1971-Aug *Canada's aid to US genocide*
- *1971-Aug *Canada's orders exposed in Pentagon Papers*
- *1971-Aug *Words (4 poems) preented by Alice Klein*
- *1971-Aug *'Never too young to fight for change' – public school students*
- *1971-Aug *Review- 'Dialectice of Sex' by Kate Alderdice*
- *1971-Aug *Why is sex forbidden? by Katie Curtin*
- *1971-Aug *Ontario government Bill setback for students*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 7 – September 1971

- 1971-09Sept-1 *Abortion- a woman's right – How to make a revolution*
- 1971-09Sept-2 *Student, abortion, antiwar, Québécois meet at Waterloo*
- 1971-09Sept-3 *'Socialism – the biggest jailbreak in history'*
- *1971-Sept *Editorial: Organize to end the war (Nov. 3 action)*
- *1971-Sept *What makes a paper revolutionary? By Don Tapscott*
- *1971-Sept *Youth unemployment 'permanent' in Canada*
- *1971-Sept *Review: High school texts teach lies, by Allen Klarreich*
- *1971-Sept *Ex-GI for US vice-president (SWP's Andrew Pulley), by Ian Angus*
- *1971-Sept *New Zealand socialist at Cross-Canada Socialist Student conf.*
- *1971-Sept *Revolutionary strategy for Canadian students, by R. Thompson*
- *1971-Sept *Linda Jenness (SWP) for US President*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 8 – October 1971

- 1971-10Oct-1 Stop the warmakers! Amchitka and Vietnam
- 1971-10Oct-2 What kind of people read *Young Socialist*?
- *1971-Oct *10,000 BC students protest Amchitka by Duncan McLean*
- *1971-Oct *Editorial: Students and the NDP*
- *1971-Oct *Women unite in struggle for abortion (rights)*
- *1971-Oct *James P. Cannon tribute SWP leader obituary)*
- *1971-Oct *Who controls the university? By Al Cappe*
- *1971-Oct *Quebec students for independent schools, by Alain Beiner*
- *1971-Oct *Students case againts religious schools*
- *1971-Oct *Why Attica exploded (US Blacks revolt) by Mary-Alice Waters*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 9 – November-December 1971

- 1971-12Dec-1 Students tell U.S. – 'Get out!'
- 1971-12Dec-2 Montreal campus profs strike, York U. YS, Mandel
- *1971-Dec *Editorial: The women of Canada vs. The abortion laws*
- *1971-Dec *The fight for French language rights, by Alain Beiner*
- *1971-Dec *Amchita, Vietnam and Canada, by Angus, Thompson & Fleming*
- *1971-Dec *How our universities(?) aid the war machine, by Will Offley*
- *1971-Dec *(Ireland) God is not the issue*
- *1971-Dec *'Participation' or mass action which way for students?*
- *1971-Dec *Montreal – Oct. 29 – the night of the billy club, by Gaetan Baron*
- *1971-Dec *Abortion – a women's right to choose*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 12(?) – January 1972

- 1972-01Jan-1 1972-- Women of Canada vs. The government
- 1972-01Jan-2 Campus women campaign for abortion right – Woman power
- *1972-Jan *Editorial- 1971 – a year of turmoil*
- *1972-Jan *Hull students fight for French CEGEP – 'Speak White'*
- *1972-Jan *'Our response to impeachment' (at SFU)*

- *1972-Jan *2, 3, many Amchitka actions! By Linda Meissenheimer*
- *1972-Jan *Why socialists defend the Vietnamese Revolution, by Al Cappe*
- *1972-Jan *Amchitka protests worthwhile, by Gary Kinsman*
- *1972-Jan *Canada accomplice in US war machine, by Richard Daegatano*
- *1972-Jan *Why Trudeau's image has shattered, by Don Tapscott*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 13 – February 1972

- 1972-02Feb-1 *Socialism and sexual liberation – Socialists in campus elections*
- 1972-02Feb-2 *The Movement – Van. SAWV moves into schools – Ottawa*
- *1972-Feb *Editorial- Build SMCs (Vietnam mobilizers) – 10 Years of YSF-YS*
- *1972-Feb *Interview with a Pakistani revolutionary (Tariq Ali)*
- *1972-Feb *Treasury Board priorities don't include students, by R. Thompson*
- *1972-Feb *They use our campuses for genocide!*
- *1972-Feb *1837! The Patriots' unfinished revolution, by Art Young*
- *1972-Feb *Change your head or change the world? YS debate, by D. Lomas*

YS – Vol. 2, No. 14 – March 1972

- 1972-03Mar-1 *British troops out of Ireland now!*
- 1972-03Mar-2 *Y.S. acclaimed at U. of Toronto – 'For a new university'*
- *1972-Mar *Are university students an elite? By Roger Harper & Al Cappe*
- *1972-Mar *Ireland – 800 years of struggle for independence*
- *1972-Mar *The Wright Report and you, by Richard Thompson*
- *1972-Mar *Mac students lead the way*
- *1972-Mar *Building March 29 (Vietnam protest)*
- *1972-Mar *Strike now non-compulsory attendance (Winnipeg High)*
- *1972-Mar *Socialists campaign across the country*
- *1972-Mar *Campus women fight enforced motherhood (abortion denied)*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 15 – April 1972 (original missing)

- 1972-04Apr-1 *The world's No 1 War Criminal comes to Canada*
- 1972-04Apr-2 *The Movement – Waterloo teach-in sparks occupation*

<i>*1972-Apr</i>	<i>Editorial: Richard Nixon: Get out now – Out of Canada, Vietnam</i>
<i>*1972-Apr</i>	<i>Solidarity with Que. Public workers!</i>
<i>*1972-Apr</i>	<i>Why high school women are organizing (abortion law repeal)</i>
<i>*1972-Apr</i>	<i>U. of T. Library struggle</i>
<i>*1972-Apr</i>	<i>Gays organizing against sexual oppression</i>
<i>*1972-Apr</i>	<i>Speech by Al Cappe to YS Conference March 25</i>
<i>*1972-Apr</i>	<i>Capitalism = war = inflation = cutbacks, by Dennis Lomas</i>
<i>*1972-Apr</i>	<i>Socialist election campaigns 1972</i>
<i>*1972-Apr</i>	<i>We can end the war!</i>

YS – Vol. 2 No. 16 – May June 1972

1972-05May-1	Self-determination for the Vietnamese! Build movement!
1972-05May-2	Editorial: Vietnam for the Vietnamese!
1972-05May-3	Interview with Reggie Chartrand (Quebec independentist)
1972-05May-4	Are students ripping off the taxpayer, by Al Cappe
1972-05May-5	Has the student revolt waned since the 60s? by R. Thompson
1972-05May-6	Which road to Canadian independence? By Dennis Lomas
1972-05May-7	Why the US refuses to get out of Indochina, by Gary Kinsman
1972-05May-8	What did the abortion referenda achieve?
1972-05May-9	The 'New Morning' police agent affair
1972-05May-10	Genesis of women's oppression, by Kathy Dalton
1972-05May-11	The Movement – 'Art should be a trigger' – Gay teach-in shocks
1972-05May-12	Chile- Can you elect a revolution?

YS – Vol. 2 No. 17 - July August 1972

1972-07July-1	Poundmaker 1842-1886 – Cree revolutionary–1900 Native revolt
1972-07July-2	Attend the YS/LJS Convention – Aug 30 – Sept 1, U of Waterloo
<i>*1972-July</i>	<i>US Oil threatens BC ecology, by Cliff Mack</i>
<i>*1972-July</i>	<i>YS/LJS Convention to be focus for student militants, by Al Cappe</i>
<i>*1972-July</i>	<i>Winnipeg high school women launch abortion club</i>
<i>*1972-July</i>	<i>Quebec teachers – 'schools serve the ruling class'</i>

- *1972-July *NDP – the fight for democracy*
- *1972-July *Student revolt around the world (poll)*

YS – Vol 2 No. 18 – September 1972

- 1972-09Sept-1 Education for all – Stop the cutbacks!
- 1972-09Sept-2 The roots of the student revolt
- *1972-Sept *Editorial: Build the anti-war movement*
- *1972-Sept *Cutbacks protests at Trent S.U.*
- *1972-Sept *What's behind the cutbacks in education?*
- *1972-Sept *Our power is our numbers, by Alice Klein*
- *1972-Sept *Memoires of an ex-porn queen (Book review) by Katie Curtin*
- *1972-Sept *Canada's role in Vietnam genocide, by Cliff Mack*
- *1972-Sept *High schools hit hard by cutbacks, by Gary Kinsman*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 19 – October 1972

- 1972-10Oct-1 NDP to power Oct. 30!
- 1972-10Oct-2 Scarborough students walk out – Campaign for 300 readers
- *1972-Oct *Editorial: End Israeli terror*
- *1972-Oct *Why students must build the anti-war movement, by Al Cappe*
- *1972-Oct *Canadian 'unity' and the Québécois, by T. Faubert & D. McLean*
- *1972-Oct *YS program for the student revolt*
- *1972-Oct *Leon Trotsky: Socialism and the October Revolution*
- *1972-Oct *YS interveiw with a feminist, by Mary Trew*
- *1972-Oct *What strategy to fight the cutbacks? By Don Tapscott*
- *1972-Oct *Peterborough students walk out*
- *1972-Oct *Youth revolt in Argentina*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 20 – November December 1972

- 1972-11Nov-1 U.S. Out now! Vietnam for the Vietnamese!
- 1972-11Nov-2 The student revolt around the world across the country
- *1972-Nov *No Canadian 'Peacekeeping!'*

- *1972-Nov *Lesson from the struggle in Peru (Hugo Blanco)*
- *1972-Nov *Way forward for student revolt, by Don Tapscott*
- *1972-Nov *Trent YS leads student union*
- *1972-Nov *Why 42 French schools closing in Montreal*
- *1972-Nov *U of T daycare fight*
- *1972-Nov *Abortion actions, by Kathy Dalton*

YS – Vol. 2 No. (20b) – February 1973

- 1973-02Feb-01 *Canada out of Vietnam!*
- 1973-02Feb-02 *Across the country – struggles against cutbacks*
- *1973-Feb *Meaning of the Vietnam 'settlement'*
- *1973-Feb *YS/LJS maps strategy for '73 (6th Convention)*
- *1973-Feb *Quebec – YS interview*
- *1973-Feb *Debate – in defence of feminism, by Linda Meissenheimer*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 21 – March 1973

- 1973-03Mar-1 *Women in the university – Cutbacks – Zionism*
- 1973-03Mar-1 *Socialist students' election campaigns–YSer elected school pres.*
- 1973-03Mar-2 *Toronto, York, UBC, Regina campus election campaigns*
- *1973-Mar *Editorial: Abolish capital punishment*
- *1973-Mar *How universities perpetuate women's oppression*
- *1973-Mar *Treaty not victory for Vietnamese*
- *1973-Mar *Women's conference on abortion law repeal*
- *1973-Mar *Egypt*
- *1973-Mar *Ontario Davis Report – the assault on education*
- *1973-Mar *The other Israel: the case against Zionism*
- *1973-Mar *Leon Sedov – 'son, friend, fighter' – Leon Trotsky*
- *1973-Mar *Université du Québec uprising*
- *1973-Mar *Free Quebec labor leaders*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 22 – April May 1973

1973-04Apr-1	Wounded Knee, and the Indian struggle in Canada
1973-04Apr-2across the country – High School Bill of Rights under fire
*1973-Apr	<i>High school youth fight back (Quebec)</i>
*1973-Apr	<i>Fee hikes</i>
*1973-Apr	<i>Socialism will liberate women (review)</i>
*1973-Apr	<i>Native struggle in Canada, by Dan Tapscott</i>
*1973-Apr	<i>Christianity – gospel lie</i>
*1973-Apr	<i>Women's tribunal to indict government, by Karen Alcock</i>
*1973-Apr	<i>Why Canada is in Vietnam</i>

YS – Vol. 2 No. 23 – June 1973

1973-06June-1	French students – Ontario teachers – Quebec May Day
1973-06June-2	YS/LJS plans summer campaigns
*1973-June	<i>Student revolt rocks France</i>
*1973-June	<i>Watergate</i>
*1973-June	<i>Inflation</i>
*1973-June	<i>Toronto teachers fight cutbacks</i>
*1973-June	<i>Nixon (haunts?) Cambodia</i>
*1973-June	<i>Peking betrayed the Vietnamese Revolution</i>
*1973-June	<i>May Day Quebec '73</i>
*1973-June	<i>Canada's laws uphold women's oppression</i>

YS – Vol. 2 No. 24 – July August 1973

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1973-07July-2	Burning issues confront NDP – NDP excludes two socialists
*1973-July	<i>Program for Quebec</i>
*1973-July	<i>Nixon-Brezhnev deals – no step towards peace</i>
*1973-July	<i>YS sales doubles</i>
*1973-July	<i>Stop the James Bay project – Native land protest</i>
*1973-July	<i>Youth radicalization in Argentina</i>

**1973-July Defend Doctor Morgentaler*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 25 – September 1973

1973-09Sept-1 Abortion is a woman's right
1973-09Sept-2 Key lessons of High School Bill of Rights struggles
**1973-Sept Canadian independence false issue*
**1973-Sept California farm workers*
**1973-Sept Crisis in Chile*
**1973-Sept Defend French Trotskyists*
**1973-Sept Defend Dr. Morgentaler*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 26 – October 1973

1973-10Oct-1 Chile – protest presson – Why Allende fell – Dr. Morgentaler
1973-10Oct-2 Which way for National Union of Students? Join the YS/LJS
**1973-Oct USSR dissidents 'confess' – Yakin trial*
**1973-Oct 'Drop the charges' – to defend Dr. Morentaler*

YS – Vol. 2 No. 27 – November 1973

1973-11Nov-1 Roots of the Mideast conflict – Women & Chinese Revolution
1973-11Nov-2 Strategy for high school revolt – Students defend teachers
**1973-Nov Strike victorious at McGill*
**1973-Nov Socialists in Quebec elections*
**1973-Nov End repression in Chile*
**1973-Nov Who rules Canada, by Mack Priegert*
**1973-Nov Thai students topple regime*
**1973-Nov Women's conference calls for defence of Dr. Morgentaler*
**1973-Nov 25 years of Zionist aggression, Palestinian rights violated*

(end of this archive)

Canada's

CENTENNIAL

Racism
Pollution
Prejudice
Inequality
Insecurity
No Housing
Mis-education

100
Years of
Injustice



Wars

Vietnam

Korea

WW II

WW I

Boer

Depression

Union Busting

Resources Steal

young socialist forum

May-June 1967

25 cents

young socialist forum

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In this issue we depart from our regular format to present a special issue on Canada's Centennial. In four major articles we review the little told but decisive story of the struggles of Canadian workers and farmers to build this country.

Here is the real story of Canada, the story of her people. Next issue we will return to our regular format.

Introduction

3

How They Devised Confederation

4

All the festivities this year are in celebration of the Confederation of Canada in 1867. Jacquie Henderson takes a look at what actually happened at the time of Confederation, at what kind of men John A. MacDonald and the other "Fathers of Confederation" were, what their motives were, and what were the real political and economic goals of Confederation.

A Hundred Years of Heroic Struggle

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One hundred years have passed since Confederation. One hundred years of tremendous profits for Canadian business. But what of the farmers who grew the crops, and the workers who built the mighty industries? For them the past century has meant an unending struggle for decent crop prices, for union recognition and often simply for enough to eat. For them this past century has imposed One Hundred Years of Injustice!

Myth and Reality

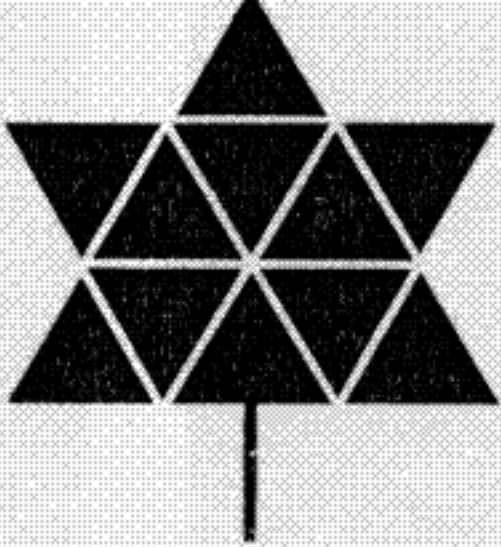
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Which Canada do you live in? There are, even in Centennial year, two Canadas: the Canada of the immense majority, well below the standard of the "middle-class"; and the Canada of the thin layer of very wealthy families who own and control society, whose very position in society depends on creating and recreating poverty.

Next Leap Ahead

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One of Canada's leading socialists discusses Canada's future. He examines the powerful forces at work in Canadian society straining toward socialism, forces springing from the very successes of Canadian capitalism. How will socialism be won, and what will socialist Canada be like? Just what does history have in store for us?



The Purpose of the Celebrations

Beautiful Canada, changing, developing, kaleidoscopic, creative, dynamic, yes, swinging Canada – that is the image that is being projected from all sides this Centennial year.

There is no question that from 1867 to 1967 the changes in this northernmost half of the North American continent have been colossal. From hand-sowing of wheat to modern grain growing; from corduroy roads to subways cutting through the earth and aircraft soaring over it; from the water-wheel to nuclear power.

But neither these hymns to the beauties and natural wealth of this subcontinent, nor the lyrics to our creativity tell anything of the robber barons' ruthless pillage of these vast natural resources and the deprival of future generations of their use, tell anything of the toll in human agony and blood our forefathers expended in making Canada what it is today.

Quite the contrary. The official festivities are designed to cover over the real Canada, of both yesterday and today. They are an attempt to reaffirm Confederation at a time when the Quebec nation is restive and again seeking to establish its rights, at a time when U.S. capital has flooded over the border and completely undermined one of the main purposes of its devisors – the establishment of Canada as a private preserve for British capital and the rising Canadian capitalists.

The celebrations are an attempt to forge a "national unity", at a time when capital is out to impose compulsory arbitration on ever-widening forces of a restive trade union membership, and when the NDP is making new headway against the old parties of confederation and the big business interests.

Through the celebrations they are attempting to firm up a myth – the myth that the Canadian working class, which created the wealth and power that is Canada today, and the handful of men who own and

control it, have a common, a national purpose.

They are especially trying to convince Canadian youth, who are questioning all the worn-out concepts of the world the men at the top own, who are increasingly disturbed by Ottawa's role in the world, particularly in Vietnam – that if we stick with the established authorities, if we adapt and conform to the old ways, then the country, all of us together, will go forward.

In this issue of *Young Socialist Forum*, we depart from our normal format to study the myth and the reality of Canada, to set the record straight and to indicate the way forward. Because despite the speeches, ads and pageants, despite the millions that have been poured into Centennial, there is only one real way to act in harmony with the enormous changes that are taking place in Canada – by joining the struggle to build a new Canada, a socialist Canada in a socialist world.



How They Devised Confederation



By Jacquie Henderson

In 1867, a giant was launched, a mighty country that was soon to stretch from sea to sea, rich in almost every conceivable resource, beautiful beyond compare.

Now, 100 years later, celebrations hail the honorable men who laid the foundations of Canada — John A. Macdonald, Georges Cartier, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, George Brown, Alexander Galt, heroes all. With foresight and patriotism, with no thought of personal gain, they pulled together the British North American colonies, establishing an independent nation.

Well, that's what the organizers of Centennial say, anyway.

The newspapers are full of articles about the "Fathers of Confederation" — but they never mention the fantastic wealth these men gained through Confederation, from corruption and bribery alone. We hear of these great democrats — but we never hear of Macdonald's belief that "there is no inalienable right in any man to exercise the franchise." We hear about the opening of the west, but never about the money and property the CPR was given to open the west. We hear speech after speech about national unity, but never a word about the continuing suppression of Quebec — a suppression organized and sanctified by Confederation.

The men who first met in Charlottetown in 1864 acted solely in their own interests. With indescribable cynicism, they proceeded to found Canada — their own private treasure chest.

Theirs was not a struggle for independ-

ance from Britain. Indeed, the "Mother Country" encouraged and supported Confederation. Britain's industrial capitalism dominated the world — the British capitalists had no need for colonies as such at that time. They saw in Confederation a means of eliminating some of the expenses and bother of the colonies; in particular they saw a chance to eliminate large defense efforts. On the other hand, the newly matured Canadian capitalist class wanted British support in its development. This became clear when Britain lent Canada money — to buy out the British-owned Hudson's Bay Company.

In fact, Confederation did not bring independence — it brought very few new rights to the colonies. Canada still had no power over foreign policy. It was not until sixty-five years later, with the Statute of Westminster, that Canada gained more or less complete independence. The Canadian constitution is still formally controlled by the British Parliament.

If there is one thing Canadians value highly today, it is our democratic rights — freedom of speech, religion and association — rights which, though somewhat limited and often under attack, are truly important. But they weren't won by the "Fathers of Confederation", and they weren't won by sitting around a conference table. Thirty years before Confederation, revolts broke out in Upper and Lower Canada. The rebels fought the oppression of the Chateau Clique and the Family Compact — the political representatives of the wealthy landowners and merchants who ruled the colonies with an iron hand. In French Canada, Louis Joseph Papineau led the struggle of small mer-

chants and farmers against the tiny group who were bleeding the population dry for British financial interests. He said to the ruling British: "We are told: be brothers! Yes, let us be that. But you wish to have everything; power, position, gold. It is this injustice which we cannot tolerate. We demand political institutions which correspond to our social state."

In English Canada, William Lyon Mackenzie led a rebellion in an unsuccessful attempt to uproot the Family Compact. He wrote in a leaflet distributed in 1837: "Brave Canadians! God has put it into the bold and honest hearts of our brethren in Lower Canada to revolt – not against 'lawful' but against 'unlawful' authority. The law says we shall not be taxed without our consent by the voices of the men of our choice, but a wicked and tyrannical government has trampled upon that law – robbed the exchequer – divided the plunder – and declared that, regardless of justice they will continue to roll in their splendid carriages, and riot in their palaces, at our expense – that we are poor spiritless ignorant peasants, who were born to toil for our betters. But the peasants are beginning to open their eyes and to feel their strength..."

Papineau and Mackenzie fought for the great ideals of the American and French revolutions, and though the rebellions were crushed, it was in response to their actions that the democratic rights we have were granted. They believed that freedom is the right of the people, that, as Mackenzie wrote: "when the great questions on which the prosperity of the country rests are temperately discussed and fully understood out of doors, there will be no difficulty in making any governor or any Assembly respect the public will truly and solemnly expressed." What a tremendous contrast there is between these leaders and the "Fathers", who sat in Charlottetown's tea-rooms, horse-trading the future of half a continent!

What were they horse-trading for? Not for the political and social freedoms Mackenzie and Papineau wanted. They saw in Confederation the necessary political act which would enable Canadian capitalism to grow and expand.

J.M.S. Careless, in *Brown of the Globe*, expresses the reaction of one of the Fathers of Confederation, George Brown, to the growing U.S. economy. "A scantily armed and loose-knit band of states had been transformed into a centralized national republic, its industrial might advancing as irresistably as its armies. Who could stand against it in North America?... Yet while he (Brown) remained sceptical of the likelihood of actual American attack, he fully recognized the danger from the republic – from the very numbers, wealth, and energy that would make an armed invasion un-

necessary, as the United States advanced its influence into the unorganized, underdeveloped British North West. Here, where the stakes were almost half a continent itself, he plainly realized the need for British North American union."

Brown and his cohorts knew their future lay in the west, in the exploitation of the prairie lands and the natural wealth of the west coast. They wanted to keep that wealth out of the hands of the Americans – not for the benefit of the Canadian people, but for themselves and their British partners.

But in order to open the west for exploitation, a transcontinental railway system was needed. Who was to pay for it? English financial interests had already poured large amounts into Canadian railroad building. But these investments were minute in comparison with what was needed now.

The financial magnates of Montreal and Toronto, eager for the speculative profits (and graft) that could come with the railways, saw an easy source of funds. They would overcome their differences, build the railway, stop the Yankees – and the Canadian people would pay!

Signs of the Times

"The Grand Trunk Railway governs Canada at the present moment. Its power is paramount. The ministry are mere puppets in its hands and dance whatever tune the Company pipes."

– Toronto Globe April 22, 1857

"My creed has been – social democracy – or equality of each man before society – and political democracy – or the equality of each man before the law."

– Mackenzie 1840

To create the means to get at the public purse, a strong central government was needed. British North America at Confederation, a study by the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, describes it this way: "Intercolonial railways were the necessary physical basis of Confederation; but at the same time, Confederation appeared to be the necessary political basis for intercontinental railways.... Railways were not mere adjuncts to Confederation, they were of its essence."

Naturally the railway promoters became the most enthusiastic of the Confederation boosters. Outstanding among them was one Alexander Galt, a leading promoter and contractor who had large interests in the Grand Trunk Railroad – in which there was already a good deal of public money. Speaking of the promoters in the Legislative Council in 1865, Antoine Aimé Dorion, an

opponent of Confederation stated: "As to the advantages of the Intercolonial Railway, I have not the slightest idea that my honourable friend had any suspicion whatsoever of the motives which animated these Grand Trunk officials, and that their object was to have another haul at the public purse for the Grand Trunk – but this was the origin of the revival of the scheme for constructing the Intercolonial Railway. . . some other scheme had to be concocted for bringing aid and relief to the unfortunate Grand Trunk – and the Confederation of all the British North American Provinces naturally suggested itself to the Grand Trunk officials as the surest means of bringing with it the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. Such was the origin of this Confederation scheme."

In the long range, there was much to be gained for the Canadian capitalists, united in one country from sea to sea for more efficient exploitation. In the short range, there was much to be gained from the building of the railroads. And every official had a finger in the railroad pie – most prominent was John A. Macdonald, who, in 1872, accepted \$350,000 in "campaign contributions" from Sir Hugh Allen, who had just received from Macdonald's government a charter to build a railway to the Pacific. When Macdonald's Liberal opponents revealed this, the scandal forced the government to resign. One of the documents which was exposed was a letter sent by Allen to his American associates. It read in part: "yesterday we entered into an agreement, by which the Government bound itself to form a company of Canadians only, according to my wishes. That the company will make me President, and that I and my friends will get a majority of the stock, and that the contract for building the road will be given to this company in terms of the Act of Parliament. Americans are to be carefully excluded, in fear that they will sell it to the Northern Pacific. But I fancy we can get over that in some way or another."

"This position has not been attained without large payments of money. I have already paid over \$200,000 and I will have at least \$100,000 more to pay."

John A.'s Senate

"There should be a large property qualification for the upper house, which is then the representative of property. It should be independant as far as property goes."

"We must protect the interests of the minorities, and the rich are always fewer in number than the poor."

JOHN A. MACDONALD



In today's terms, this graft would be equivalent to 5 or 10 million dollars – and it was nothing compared to the fantastic profits the CPR was later to reap.

Even as the Canadian capitalists, in alliance with the British, saw in Confederation a chance to expand their influence and investments, they saw in it the method they had sought to crush another group of opponents – the French Canadians.

Papineau's rebellion had lasted much longer and had had more impact than Mackenzie's. The British were then doubly vicious in repressing it. The investigator sent to examine the situation in the colonies, Lord Durham, made special recommendations for dealing with the French. He advocated union of the colonies, to swamp the Quebecois with an English majority. "I have little doubt," he wrote, "that the French, when once placed . . . in a minority, would abandon their vain hopes of nationality."

Most commentators agree that "... at a time when the handful of writers in English Canada were still groping toward a distinctive national expression, French Canadian nationalism flowered in a literary and historical movement," (*Canada: A Political and Social History*, Edgar McInnes). Yet this representative of the nation that defeated the French forces in Lower Canada years before could write: "they are a people with no history, and no literature." No important works in English, at any rate.

George Brown and Macdonald were both very clear on this aspect of Confederation. After the Quebec Conference, Brown wrote to his wife: "... constitution adopted – a most creditable document – a complete reform of all the abuses and injustices we have complained of!! Is it not wonderful! French Canadianism entirely extinguished!"

A Hundred Years of Injustice to the nation of Quebec is reflected in the protest of a sector of today's French Canadian youth. Long years of grinding oppression by American and English Canadian capitalists have failed to destroy the militant opposition to exploitation of the young Quebecois.



The constitution legalized the extinguishing of "French Canadianism". The position of the wealthy English minority in Quebec was carefully safeguarded, while no rights at all were given the sizeable French minorities outside of Quebec — not rights of language, nor schools. Ottawa was given veto power over the provinces — a measure specifically designed to stop any resurgence of French Canadian nationalism. Far from being a union of the English and French nations, Confederation was engineered to solidify the rule of English capital over the nation of Quebec.

Though the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations wrote: "Confederation was the work of a whole people, of an entire society," it is nonetheless clear that there was massive opposition to it. In only one province did the government allow a vote on the issue. *Colony to Nation*, one of the standard texts on Canadian history, excuses this: "no responsible public man would have agreed that every important measure had to be put to a popular vote. Hence public men in those days were not overly perturbed by public agitations got up by political opponents . . ." In other words, so long as they got what they wanted, they didn't give a damn for democracy!

It has been estimated that at least one-third of the population of Quebec opposed Confederation. In particular, they opposed provisions giving Ottawa the right of veto over the provinces. Antoine Dorion saw it as a scheme to completely subordinate Quebec to British and English Canadian financial interests. "... Do you not see that it is quite possible for a majority in a local government to be opposed to the General Gov-

ernment; and in such a case the minority would call on the General Government to disallow the laws enacted by the majority?"

In Nova Scotia, Joseph Howe mobilized the majority of the electorate in opposition to Confederation. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland rejected the whole plan, refusing to enter the union. And in New Brunswick Tilley ran an election on the issue of Confederation and was soundly defeated. Criticizing him, the "great democrat" John A. Macdonald revealed his attitude to democracy: "... the course of the New Brunswick Government in dissolving their parliament and appealing to the people was unstatesmanlike and unsuccessful as it deserved to be."

As Edgar McInnis says in *Canada*, "the time had now come to invoke the overriding authority of the British government."

HUGO BLANCO MUST NOT DIE!

Background and scope of the international campaign for amnesty for the Peruvian peasant leader, plus an address by the noted authority on Latin America:

ANDRE GUNDER FRANK

30 cents a copy, 4 for \$1

Robert McCarthy
Massey College
4 Devonshire Place
Toronto, Canada

advertisement

THE HONEST ENGLISHMAN . . .

"There can hardly be conceived a nationality more destitute of all that which is exhibited by the descendants of the French in Lower Canada, owing to their retaining their peculiar language and manners. They are a people with no history and no literature."

"I have little doubt that the French, when once placed, by the legitimate natural causes, in a minority, would abandon their vain hopes of nationality."

— LORD DURHAM Report 1839

British financial interest intervened, with the result that the governor of Nova Scotia was replaced by a strong supporter of Confederation, and New Brunswick's governor was called home to be briefed. He returned, fully persuaded — "I'm convinced," he wrote "that I can make (or buy) a union majority in the Legislature."

McInnis sums up the democratic nature of Confederation: "The Dominion was not the outgrowth of a popular movement, but the work of a small group of political leaders supported by important financial interests, and the final scheme was never submitted to popular ratification. Neither was it submitted to or accepted by the provincial Legislatures . . . The real authority behind the BNA Act, and the only one which could give it statutory effect, was that of the British parliament."

The Act expressed, of course, the interests of the men who drafted it. It established a union of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick "Under the Crown" and pledged to "promote the Interests of the British Empire". All power, except for a list of local subjects assigned the provinces, went to the central government.

To guarantee the power of the wealthy, the Fathers of Confederation established the Senate. The Senate's power has been used to this end: for example; for many years the Senate's power was used to uphold Section 98 — the infamous "anti-Red" law used to jail radicals in the 20's and 30's. The Senate remains "a bulwark against the clamor and caprice of the mob." (Sir James Loughheed, Conservative leader of the Senate, 1906-1921).

This year is the 100th anniversary of the amalgamation of the British North American colonies into one country. How has Confederation worked out in practice?

For its promoters, it worked superbly. Canadian capitalism remains as it was born, a junior partner in the business world — though the senior partner is now the United States, not Britain. Canada plays the role of an aggressive, internationally minded little brother to the American colossus. The fact that American imperialism far outshines Canadian imperialism is not a sign of the failure of Confederation; rather it is indicative of the outstanding success of American capitalism.

Confederation succeeded in subordinating the French Canadian nation. In alliance with the church and the wealthy landowners of Quebec, the rulers of English Canada condemned Quebec to a century of subordination — both economic and cultural.

But the reaction to this suppression has been far greater than the builders of Confederation expected. In the 60's a new, more powerful nationalism has arisen in Quebec, the nationalism of a restive, militant working class.

Confederation proved to be a remarkably good arrangement for a small group of people, for the men who put the new country's wealth in their own pockets. But for most Canadians, it brought one hundred years of struggle — against one hundred years of injustice.

Take Vietnam to Expo

On July 1 Canadian leaders will celebrate Canada's achievements from 1867-1967. Canada's most appalling contribution to "Man and His World" in 1967 is the assistance which Canadian industry and government give to the U.S. attempt to destroy the Vietnamese people.

The Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam, have called for a mass demonstration in Montreal on July 1

to Take Vietnam to Expo with the demands, END CANADIAN COMPLICITY and SELF/DETERMINATION FOR VIETNAM. 14 buses have been chartered, 8 by the TCCEWV and 6 by SAEWV to take Torontonians to Expo. Buttons and posters are available.

For information about what you can do, contact: SAEWV at Box 931, Terminal "A", Toronto, Ontario. Phone Joe Young, Chairman of SAEWV, at 429-1337.



Mounted Police charge on horseback through crowds of Winnipeg workers in the General Strike of 1919. The cops attacked the peaceful demonstration with baseball bats and pistols.

A Hundred Years of Heroic Struggle

By Harry Stone

Confederation was planned to establish a transcontinental empire—a goal inseparably linked to the building of a coast-to-coast railway. The railway promoters, among them many of the "Fathers of Confederation", planned to utilize public money to build themselves a private corporation—a suction pump from the public purse to their private pockets.

In one of the greatest give-away programs of all times, the government gave the CPR grants to the value of 206 million dollars, 25 million acres of the best prairie land as well as many other valuable concessions. The railroad was a gift of the Canadian government to the CPR—a gift which has been used to extract a fortune from the labour of Canadians—the CPR now ranks among the top ten private corporations in the world outside the U.S.

In order to make the land grants, the government engineered a gigantic land grab. Key areas of the prairies were already settled by Indians and Metis (of mixed Indian, English and French descent). Government surveyors sliced through the Metis' river lots.

Led by Louis Riel, the Metis rebelled against this takeover of their land. They

took control of Fort Garry and called a convention of both English and French inhabitants to determine their future course. Horrified by such expression of democracy, Ottawa sent troops, crushing the rebellion.

Government harassment continued until 1885, when the Metis rebelled again, forming a provisional government. They were joined by large sections of the Indian population, fed up with capitalist "civilization", which brought only starvation and disease, and the elimination of their communal society.

It took the North West Mounted Police (later the RCMP) and 5000 troops to put down these courageous people in their last great stand against capitalist expansion.

Louis Riel was hanged for his part in the rebellion, despite mass opposition in Quebec. Identifying strongly with Riel's fight against injustice, 50,000 Quebecois demonstrated in Montreal. The sentiments of the English capitalists were expressed by Prime Minister John A. Macdonald who declared: "He shall hang though every dog in Quebec bark in his favor," and by the *Toronto News*, May 18, 1885: "Strangle Riel with the French flag! That is the only use the rag can have in this country." To this day history textbooks describe Riel as a madman—in the language of capitalism: to oppose oppression is madness.

Part of the Robber Barons' Loot

The following are some of the gifts of the Canadian government to the CPR, to "induce" the CPR to build a transcontinental railway:

700 miles of government built railway, worth \$38 million.

Direct contributions totalling \$62 million.

Expenditures to extinguish Indian title to lands granted to the CPR - capitalized value \$30 million.

25 million acres of prairie land - chosen by the CPR.

Exemption from property and capital taxes in perpetuity. Exemption from land taxes for 20 years.

Exemption from import duties on a large part of the railway construction materials.

An agreement by the government never to reduce the CPR's rail rates unless the CPR's net profit is more than 10%.

In 1884, a \$45 million loan. Later a gift of \$15 million. More land grants, and coal mines.

The total value of the gifts to the CPR was about \$500 million - equal to the annual gross national product at that time. A gift of comparable value today would be \$50,000,000,000!

Having pushed the Indians onto reserves the government advertised in Europe for settlers, telling of the vast lands and opportunities available. Thousands came to the land of milk and honey, lured by 160 acre land grants - a lot of land in Europe, but not enough in the Prairie wheatland.

By 1901, the average size of the farms had reached 300 acres. Where did the settlers get the additional property? From the CPR, at \$8.55 an acre!

The CPR had the farmers at their mercy. In combination with the five companies that controlled 75% of the Western grain elevators, the CPR cheated the farmers, and charged exorbitant freight rates.

Faced with capitalist combines and falling prices, only 41% of the settlers lasted long enough to obtain permanent title to their land. Many more fell victim to the recurrent depressions. They came seeking the land of milk and honey - they found hardship and exploitation.

Angered, they fought back. In 1901 the Territorial Grain Growers' Association was founded. It sued the CPR for not allocating a fair share of cars to the farmer's co-operatives. After a series of battles, they won their case. The CPR's defeat was a powerful impetus in building the farmer's movement.

The cooperative movement was developed as a means of fighting the grain and transport monopolies. By running their own companies, the farmers hoped to eliminate the middleman and market their own wheat. The co-ops did a lot to lighten the load, but could not change the economy, which was run by the monopolies, or challenge the government's pro-monopoly policies.

After World War I, the farmers turned to political action in frustration. Farmers' political parties won several provincial elections, and the farm-based Progressive

Party became the second largest party in Ottawa. But without providing any substantial alternative policy to the capitalist parties, the progressives were largely swallowed by the Liberal Party.

The early struggles of the prairie farmers were paralleled by the efforts of the working class to win a better life. Faced, in the early days of British North America, with dirty, unsafe factories, a twelve-hour day and subsistence wages, they fought for the right to life.

As early as 1812, trade unions in Canada were fighting for the right to exist, against prosecution under laws which declared them "criminal conspiracies". But the great struggles broke out in the 1870's with the fight for the nine-hour day.

In 1872, Toronto's printers went on strike, demanding the nine-hour day. Over 10,000 Toronto workers demonstrated in their support at the Legislative Buildings.

The publishers attempted to smash the

Regina Manifesto

"No CCF Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full program of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

"... Workers must be guaranteed the undisputed right to freedom of association, and should be encouraged and assisted by the state to organize themselves in trade unions. By means of collective agreements and participation in workers councils, the workers can achieve fair working rules and share in the control of industry and profession: and their organizations will be indispensable elements in a system of genuine industrial democracy."

strike by having the 24 member strike committee arrested. The strike was declared to be the work of 'foreign agitators'. But public protest and union militancy were so strong that the 24 were released and the nine-hour day won.

In this period labor made its first attempts at independent political action. In place of the old practice of supporting phony Liberal and Tory 'friends of labor', labor began to put forward its own candidates, and in 1874, Daniel J. O'Donaghue, President of the Ottawa Trades Council, was elected to the Ontario Legislature.

The early unions were based on skilled workers, a privileged minority in the working class. Conservative leadership prevented them from moving to organize the unskilled.

This conservatism was challenged at the turn of the century by the Industrial Workers of the World. The "Wobblies", as they were called, proudly declaring that they sought the complete abolition of capitalism, sought to organize all workers into organizations capable of confronting the bosses—industrial unions. Their main strength lay in the west, in the lumber trade. They soon gained the following of about 10,000 workers.

In 1914 Canada joined the battle for a redivision of colonies and capitalist property in Europe. Canada's rulers saw immense profits to be gained. But for the working people, there was nothing but the slaughter.

Riots against conscription swept through Quebec. On April 1, 1918, workers exchanged gunfire with the federal police in charge of the military service act. The same police attacked a demonstration of 15,000, killing 4, and arresting 58.

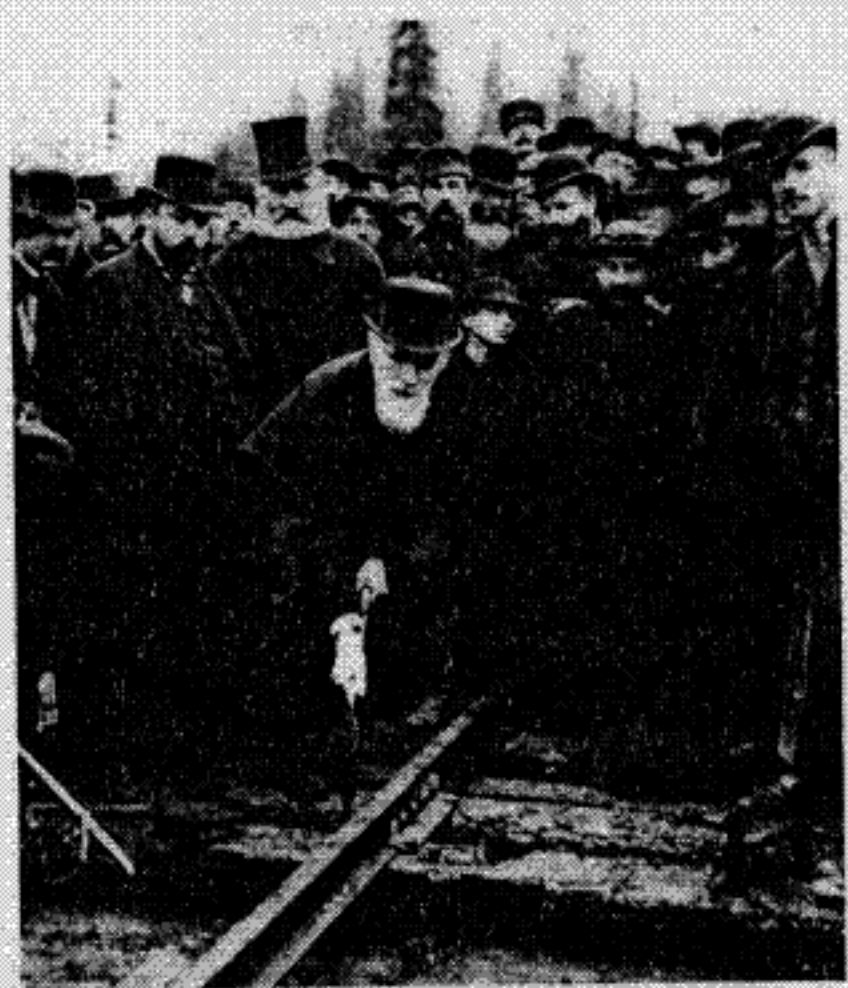
In the West, the IWW, the shock troops of industrial unionism, militantly opposed the war. As a result, their leadership was imprisoned, and the organization dispersed by the rulers of "democratic" Canada.

The profits of World War 1 brought prosperity to the owners of the factories and mines. Canada rapidly became an advanced industrialized country. Britain, which was lending Canada money in 1914, was borrowing from the former colony by 1918.

The rapid growth of industry also increased the size and militancy of the working class. In 1919, in Calgary, the One Big Union (OBU) movement was founded. Based on the principles of industrial unionism, and dedicated to socialism, it had 40,000 members at its peak.

The OBU saw as the major weapon of the working class the General Strike. The major example of such an action took place in 1919 in Winnipeg. On May Day of that year, the Winnipeg Building Trades Council struck for higher pay and union recognition, as did the Metal Trades Council. Two weeks later, as the employers refused to negotiate, 70 unions launched a general strike. For 41 days the Strike Committee administered the city — nothing moved unless the workers authorized it. Strikes broke

Who Really Built Canada



Craigellachie, B.C., November 7, 1885: (Left) Donald Smith (Lord Strathcona), by driving the golden spike officially completing the C.P.R., represents the gang of hucksters and profiteers who gleaned fortunes from the transcontinental railway. Later, (Right) the men whose labour made the whole thing possible, drove their own spike, a more fitting completion of the new railway.

The Fathers of Confed



George Brown (1818-86) — Leader of the Ontario Liberals. Brown was a land developer and the owner of Ontario's most successful newspaper. For him, Confederation meant a new empire in the West for Toronto businessmen to conquer. An able spokesman for his class, Brown led the Toronto publishers in their futile attempts to smash the great printers' strike for the 9-hour-day in 1872. Eight years later a printer he had fired shot him fatally.

Sir Georges Etienne Cartier (1814-73) — Cartier fought on the rebel side in 1837, but deserted the cause of French Canada to lead Quebec into Confederation. Deeply involved in railway promotion and railway scandals, Cartier moved the motion for a privately owned C.P.R. and later wrote the letter to Sir Hugh Allan demanding \$200,000 for the 1872 election.



Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt (1817-93) — One of Canada's top businessmen, he got his start in a land company and went on to be a leading figure in the Grand Trunk Railway. He also had major investments in the Canadian west. Galt understood the benefits Confederation would bring — particularly to his ailing Grand Trunk — and was leading promoter of a privately owned but publicly financed Pacific railway.

Who were the 'Fathers of Confederation'? Of the 36 commonly listed, 34 were businessmen or lawyers. One was a professional military officer, and four formerly professionals, made their living from politics. Not a single representative of the farmers, the workers, the fishermen, the men who built Canada! The 'Fathers' were authentic representatives of their class, united in the corruption, profiteering and political jobbery by which Canadian business crawled its way to the top.

Here are six of the 'Fathers' whose names are most revered today.

out across the country in sympathy.

Though the Winnipeg General Strike was not victorious, it showed the power of the working class. If they could rule Winnipeg they could rule Canada. And it also showed that more than strike action was needed.

Before the workers was the great example of the Russian Revolution — the first workers' state. Its impact was felt across Canada — large sectors of the working class supported and identified with the Bolsheviks. Canadian troops were sent to join the Allied efforts to crush the revolution. J. S. Woodsworth, later the founder of the CCF, quit his job as a longshoreman in Vancouver rather than participate in the shipping of arms to the counter-revolutionary armies in Siberia.

The Western Labor Conference was held in Calgary in 1919 demanded "immediate withdrawal of all allied troops from Russia", and went on record "in favor of calling a general strike on June 1, should the Allies

persist in their attempt to overthrow the Soviet Administration in Russia or Germany or any country in which it is or may be established..."

The ideas of the Russian Revolution inspired the founding of the Communist Party of Canada (first called the Workers Party). It brought together the best of all the radical tendencies. Combining the revolutionary militancy of the OBU with the program of the Russian Revolution, the Workers Party showed great promise as a mass movement for socialism in Canada.

But it did not survive the degeneration of the Communist International under Stalin. From a revolutionary party, it became a servile instrument of Soviet foreign policy. Of the seven members of the original Central Committee whose later activities are known, six broke with the CP — four of them later identifying with the Trotskyist movement. However the earlier days of the Communist

The Fathers of Confederation

Who were the ‘Fathers of Confederation’? Of the 36 commonly listed, 31 were businessmen or lawyers. One was a professional military officer, and four, formerly professionals who made their living from politics. Not a single representative of the farmers, the workers, the fishermen, the men who built Canada! The ‘Fathers’ were authentic representatives of their class, mired in the corruption, profiteering and political jobbery by which Canadian business crawled its way to the top. Here are six of the ‘Fathers’ whose names are most revered today.

George Brown (1818-1880) – Leader of the Ontario Liberals, Brown was a land developer and the owner of Ontario’s most successful newspaper. For him, Confederation meant a new empire in the West for Toronto businessmen to conquer. An able spokesman for his class, Brown led the Toronto publishers in their frantic attempts to smash the great printers strike for the 9-hour day in 1872. Eight years later a printer he had fired shot him fatally.

Sir Georges Étienne Cartier (1814-73) – Cartier fought on the rebel side in 1837, but deserted the cause of French Canada to lead Quebec into Confederation. Deeply involved in railway promotion and railway scandals, Cartier moved the motion for a privately owned C.P.R. and later wrote the letter to Sir Hugh Allan demanding \$200,000 for the 1872 election.

Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt (1817-93) – One of Canada’s top businessmen, he got his start in a land company and went on to be a leading figure in the grand Trunk Railway. He also had major investments in the Canadian West. Galt understood the benefits Confederation would bring – particularly to his ailing Grand Trunk – and was a leading promoter of a privately owned but publicly financed Pacific railway.

Sir John A. MacDonald (1815-91) – ‘Whiskey Jack’ often appeared in the Commons in a drunken stupor, but he has a fine instinct for profit. His admirers say, ‘He raised opportunism almost to the level of a political principle,’ as when he had C.P.R. promoter Sir Hugh Allen pay the costs of the 1872 election.

Thomas D’Arcy McGee (1825-68) – Exiled from Ireland for his support of the 1848 Rebellion, he turned against his countrymen’s struggles to become a loyal servant of the Queen. He was the most prominent propagandist for Confederation and the loudest enemy of the Irish revolutionary organizations in North America. McGee was assassinated by an Irish revolutionary in 1868.

Sir Samuel Leonard Tilley (1818-96) – A New Brunswick businessman, he was the leading proponent of Confederation in his province. He lacked the political acumen of Sir John A., however, for he allowed his province to vote on Confederation, where the proposition was soundly defeated. Late he was Minister of Finance, responsible for implementing MacDonald’s ‘National Policy’ for the enrichment of Canadian industrialists.

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to overthrow the Russia or Germany which it is or may

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Party remain an example to the Canadian socialists, an integral part of the history of the struggle for a better world.

The greatest confirmation of the socialist analysis of capitalism as an international system came in 1929, when the crash in Wall Street brought misery to workers around the world. In the U.S. hundreds of thousands of workers surged past the traditional craft union leaderships to build the Congress of Industrial Unionism (CIO); fighting lock-outs, police attacks, imprisonment and scabs, they organized the auto, steel and mining industries.

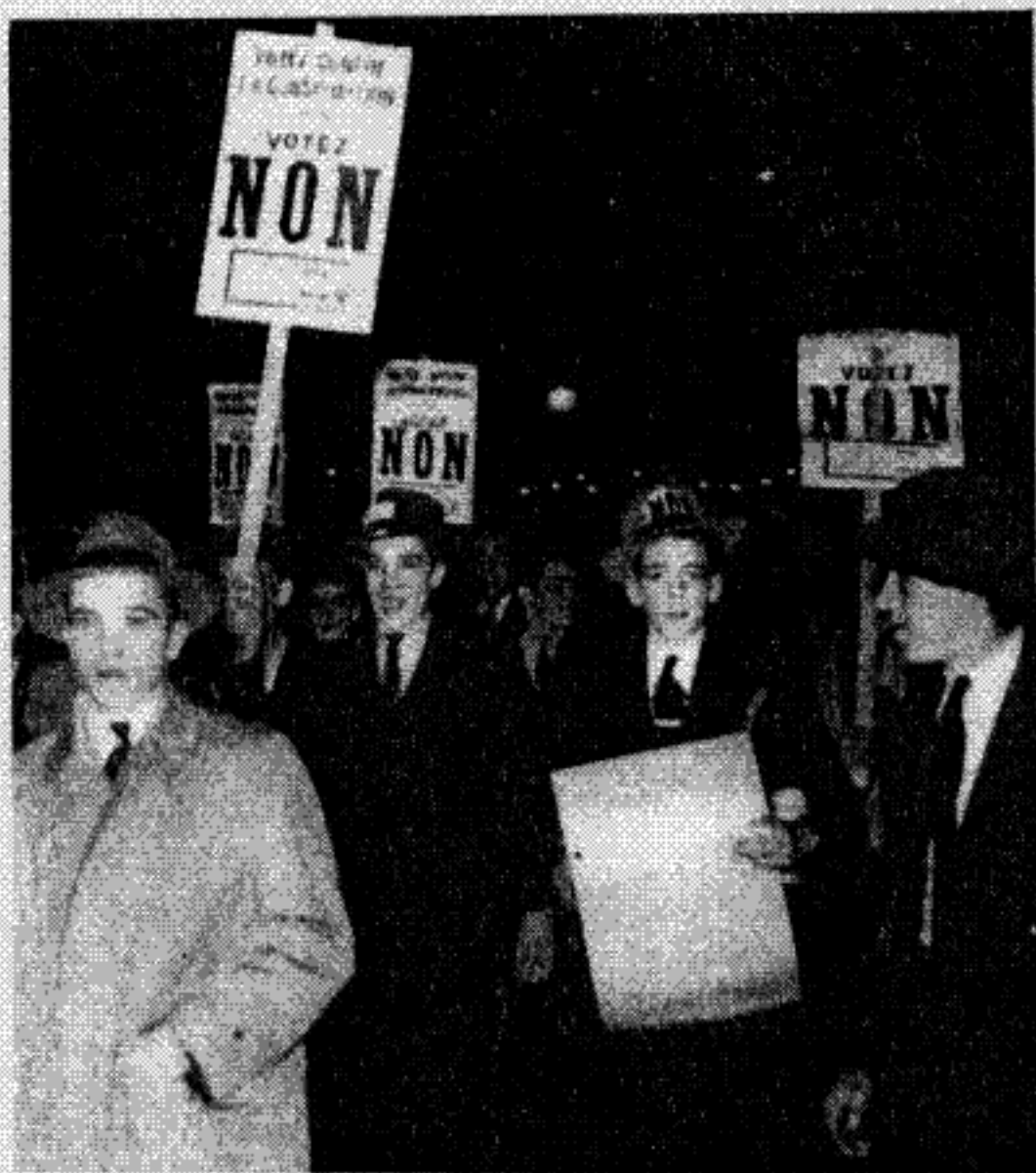
In Canada the CIO launched its major effort at the General Motors plant in Oshawa. The Ontario government declared the CIO "subversive", and moved in with the RCMP - but the strikers held firm and the strike was won.

World War II led to a rapid growth of the unions, but workers found themselves subjected to no-strike pledges by the union

leadership and the thoroughly degenerated Communist Party.

As in World War I, there was widespread opposition amongst the Canadian workers and farmers to the renewed imperialist slaughter. The Conservative Party realized this and tried to capitalize on it. "Canadian youth", said Conservative leader Manion, "should not be conscripted to fight outside the borders of Canada. Conscription might lead to civil war in Canada, or it might smash Canada into its original pieces".

Liberal Prime Minister MacKenzie King dared not impose conscription directly. In 1940, he won the largest majority held by any party until that time in the House of Commons by campaigning against conscription. That same summer he introduced 30-day conscription for home defence. In April 1942, despite almost 3 years of pro-war and pro-conscription propaganda, over one-third of the voters voted NO in



Young Montreal workers protest against conscription in 1941. Opposition to the draft was widespread among Canadian workers and youth, and lasted throughout the war.

a national plebiscite on conscription. In Quebec, 75% voted NO!

Not until 1944 did King dare send conscripts overseas – and even then the response was militant and direct. Riots broke out in army camps across Canada, and thousands deserted. The Canadian rulers have had no easy job driving Canadian workers to fight for imperialism. (In 1950, a Gallup Poll showed that two-thirds of Canadians opposed sending troops to Korea.)

Though restricted by legislation and no-strike pledges, the membership of the CIO more than quadrupled to 135,000 members by the end of the war. Then began the greatest organizing drive in Canada's history – the issue was union recognition and the battlefield was every major section of Canadian industry.

In September 1945, 10,000 Ford workers struck in Windsor. Two years of government conciliation and arbitration had failed – and the workers took to the streets in a major confrontation with capital.

The Ford workers, striking for union security, shorter hours and vacations with pay, were met by 230 Ontario Provincial Police and RCMP officers. But they held solid. Sympathy strikes broke out. 8000 members of UAW local 195 came out in support – Windsor was almost closed down. Financial aid poured in from across the country. When the police tried to bring in scabs, the strikers erected a barricade of cars and buses. After 100 days, the workers won union security and check-off of dues – they returned to work at the urging of their leadership, whose fear of the size and militancy of the strike was almost as great

as the bosses'. But the tone had been set.

In May 1946, 37,000 loggers struck in B.C. By June, 50,000 strikers manned picket lines across the country, fighting for union recognition and a forty hour week. The Federal Minister of Labor charged that the underpaid and overworked strikers were 'Communists'. Though the Tories and Liberals cheered, the strike held.

In July, 15,000 steelworkers struck for a forty hour week and higher pay. Central to the strike was the confrontation with the bosses and their cops at Hamilton's Stelco plant. The Hamilton steelworkers were supported by strikers from the electrical, rubber and typographical unions. When 200 police tried to crash a picket line, 1200 steelworkers at International Harvester dropped their tools and rushed to help the Stelco strikers. After 81 days, the workers won 13¢ an hour. Over 500 police had been used against them.

The post-war strike wave led to the organization of broad layers of the working class in Canada. The repeated intervention of the capitalist state, through legislation and police attacks, showed the need to move into political as well as economic action.

By 1948, the Canadian Congress of Labor (the federation of CIO unions) supported the CCF – which had been founded in 1932 primarily by the prairie farmers – as the political arm of labor. The craft union federation, the Trades and Labor Congress, withdrew its support from the Liberals.

The owners of Canada ceaselessly continued their attacks on labor, through the courts and parliaments. Though the CCF was an important step, it could not perform the tasks that had to be carried out. In 1958, the Canadian Labor Congress (formed by the merger of the CCL and TLC), decided that it could stand by no longer. It proposed to the CCF a new party – a labor party. The founding of the New Democratic Party established, for the first time in North America, a party of the working class – a major first step in the struggle for socialism.



Windsor 1945. Striking Ford workers successfully thwart the efforts of the auto bosses to herd scabs into the factory with a barricade of cars and buses.

Myth and Reality



October, 1958. At Springhill, N.S. 174 miners were trapped. 74 were killed, a sacrificial offering to the mine bosses.

By Ian Angus

On April 3, 15 men died in a coal-mine explosion in Natal, British Columbia, a little town in the Crowsnest Pass region.

The men who died were the descendants of the Italian, Ukranian, Polish, Welsh and Yorkshire immigrants who first dug the rich seams of coal in this area -- the men who dug the coal that helped build the west. The coal was easy to get at -- the seams sloped downward, gravity did half the work.

But with the coal came coal gas -- and explosions. In 1902, 125 miners were killed in Fernie, 25 miles west of Natal. In 1919, 189 were killed by a blast in nearby Hillcrest. And dozens of smaller explosions have taken the lives of hundreds more.

In the late 40's, oil took over. The railways changed to diesel fuel, farmers to propane. The men who made the west possible were thrown out of work by the west's growth. 800 men out of work at Greenhill Mine. 500 at International. 400 at McGillivray. Today only a few mines are open, mainly supplying coal for Japan. The men live and work in unsanitary and unsafe conditions, on the edge of poverty.

And for the families of the men who died this April? The B.C. Workmen's Compensation Board promised to work quickly to give the widows a cash payment of \$250 and a monthly pension of \$122.04. Truly a princely sum from a government which could have prevented the deaths with adequate safety regulations.

Meanwhile, one of Canada's mining tycoons, Robert Winters, does his job as Minister of Commerce. On being appointed to the Cabinet, Winters found it necessary to give up some of the positions which had "qualified" him for the post. Positions

like the presidency of Rio Algom Mines, the Board Chairmanship of the British Newfoundland Corporation, the vice-presidency of Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, the chairmanship of Atlas Steel, the Presidency of Rio Tinto Mining, and his directorships in nearly every major corporation operating in Canada, including Algoma Steel, Dominion Sugar, Canada Cement, Ford Motor, Bell Telephone and IBM.

Hours after resigning these posts, he spoke to a party for Rio Algom stockholders, to assure them that he still had their best interests at heart. It is necessary, he said, to make Canadian goods "more competitive on the world market -- which can only be done through cutting labor costs, which are much too high in Canada at the moment."

As might have been expected, he made no mention of skyrocketing profits -- corporate profits in February 1966 were up to \$69 million -- 46% higher than February 1964.

For over 100 years the people of Canada -- miners, farmers, railroaders, construction workers have worked and died to build Canada. Where are they now, as Winters arrogantly argues they must accept lower wages 'in the national interest'? Amid the spectacular wealth the people created, "... only a dishonest or extremely sheltered Canadian could deny that there is much poverty in our midst ... the average industrial weekly wage in Canada in July was \$86.75. Many families have only one such wage coming into the house. Few people would regard raising a family on that wage as an exercise in affluence." (Editorial, Toronto Globe and Mail, Oct. 7, 1964)

Some consider poverty to be limited to rural backwaters. But government criteria

and census statistics show six and one half million Canadians not on farms — 40% of the total — live in deprivation, poverty or destitution!

On the farms, the breadth of poverty is even more dramatic: 71% of Canadians living on farms live in poverty.

In total, about eight million Canadians live in poverty, out of a total population of less than twenty million.

Presumably, if we are to cling to some remnant of the myth of middle-class Canada, the remainder of Canadians must form the middle class.

In *The Vertical Mosaic*, sociologist John Porter says that a family must earn \$8000 to enjoy a middle-class standard of living. In 1964, only 8.2% of Canadian taxpayers earned this much. (*Taxation Statistics 1964*, Dept. of National Revenue) They, plus a small percentage of families in which there are two incomes, compose all of the much-heralded middle class.

The remainder of Canadians are either poor by government standards, or just make ends meet.

Who are the poor? Are they "Unemployable, Unemployed, or Underemployed ... persons who have suffered major damage in their capacities to make demands on the society"? (Bryan Knight, "Poverty in Canada", *Our Generation*, March 1967)

The facts indicate otherwise. Over 95% of Canadian taxpayers earned less than \$10,000 in 1964, and they averaged only \$4100. As the *Globe and Mail* editorial quoted earlier said, the average industrial wage in July 1964 was \$86.75 a week — about \$4500 a year. These are averages, so a good many people earn less. The people who earn these wages are not merely the "Unemployable, Unemployed, and Underemployed" — they are the people upon whom this system depends — the office workers, the factory workers, the miners, loggers and fishermen. Their only source of income is their labor — and someone else

THE WORKING MAN MUST RECOGNIZE
THAT IF IN WANT HE LIVES AND DIES
IT'S JUST HIS LACK OF ENTERPRISE
FREE ENTERPRISE THAT PAYS



sets the price they get paid for it.

Further confirmation of this is found in the fact that the majority of Canada's poor live not in the "depressed areas", not on the Indian reserves, but in the great industrial cities. 38.1% of the people of Montreal, Canada's largest, richest city, the second largest French city in the world, live in "poverty, privation and misery." (Emile Gosselin, *La Troisième Solitude*, Conseil du Travail de Montreal)

There are, then, even in Centennial year, two Canadas: the Canada of the immense majority, well below the standard of the "middle-class"; and the Canada of the thin layer of very wealthy families who own and control society, whose very position in society depends on creating and re-creating poverty.

Life for the very rich includes "a very large house, a farm, a retreat in the bush,

Equality of Opportunity?

"Our educational system severely handicaps the children of the poor, not only because it denies the existence of their way of life, but because it presupposes skills, knowledge, attitudes and most of all verbal abilities which are those of the middle class child and which the poor child does not possess with rare exceptions, the lower class child is at a severe disadvantage upon entering school. He falls behind and very often by Grade 3 has become the potential school failure and dropout, the future unemployable, if not the future delinquent, because of his experience and knowledge that the pub-

lic school system is not for him but only for the others."

— Bruno Bettelheim, Class of 84, Canadian Institute of Public Affairs.

"... the nation's schools are wrong, and even destructive, for more than 80% of the children in them

"Today's schools fail to educate; their principal effect is to stun there is evidence, particularly in children of the poor, that intelligence declines during the years they are in school."

— June Callwood, *Macleans*, January 1967

a house in the Bahamas, a racing stable, and a water craft of respectable proportions." (The Vertical Mosaic, p. 113) About 4900 Canadians – less than one-tenth of one percent of Canadian taxpayers – could afford all these things in 1964.

The ability of the rich and their hangers-on to maintain their wealth stems directly from the sources of their wealth. The four percent of Canadian taxpayers who earned over \$10,000 in 1964 received 71% of all income from stock dividends. According to Porter, the richest 250th of the population receives 40% of dividend income. Less than nine percent of Canadians own any stocks at all, and the majority of that group own only a few shares!

The men at the top are the executives of corporations, the managers, but they are more than that. They are the owners of the Canadian economy. And the gap between these men and the rest of us is growing. A study published by H. V. Chapman Associates, a Toronto executive placement firm, shows that between 1960 and 1966 executive salaries increased 38%, while wages rose only 27%.

We are faced, then, with a system in which a few make fabulous sums from the labor of others because they own the factories, mines and forests.

"A \$1000 investment in the shares of MacMillan, Bloedel and Powell River Ltd. (then the H. R. MacMillan Export) in 1947 would be worth \$11,860 today and income from dividends would total \$3,368 for a sixteen year investment performance of \$15,328." (Financial Post, January 1964)

"If you had invested \$12,500 in B. C. Forest Products shares at the beginning of 1963, your investment would be worth \$25,000 this week ... this leap in earnings was due in part to more generous cost allowance provisions in the June 1963 federal budget." (Financial Post, March 14, 1964)

Presumably, the small group who doubled their money in one year "deserved" it because they "risked" their money in one of Canada's largest corporations. Meanwhile, the men who risked their lives to cut the timber, and who received no "generous cost allowances", averaged \$74.56 a week – less than \$4000 a year, assuming they were employed all year. (Working and Living Conditions in Canada, Federal Dept. of Labor, 1961)

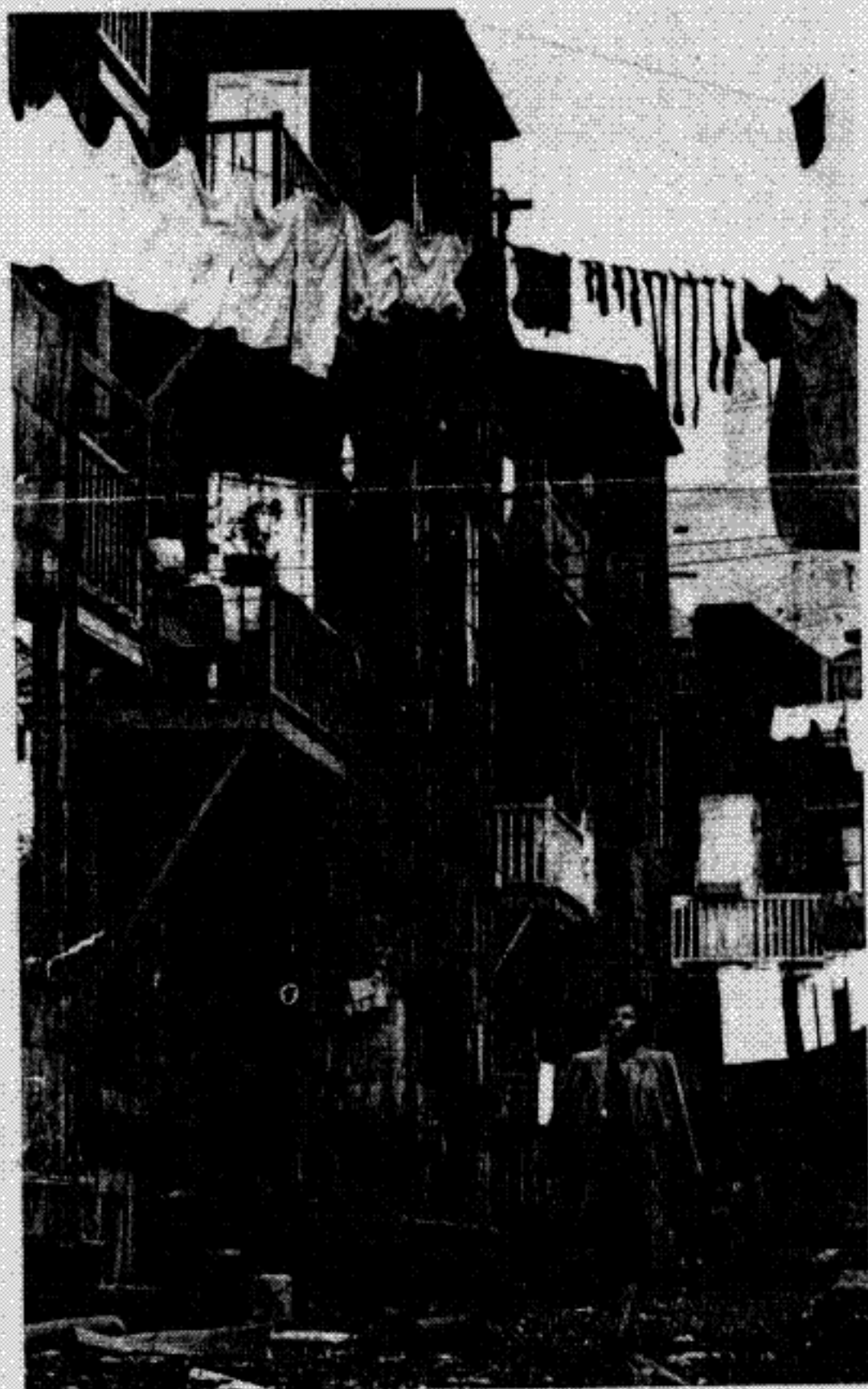
While the majority of Canadians go into debt to make ends meet, being unable, as the food prices protests showed, even to afford the necessities of life, the food chains have an average annual profit of 10.2% on stockholders' equity – as opposed to 7.2% in all of industry. (Globe and Mail, April 21, 1967) Between 1961 and 1966, Garfield Weston's Loblaws chain increased its profits from 9 million to 11 1/2 million

dollars. In 1966, dividends from E.P. Taylor's Dominion Stores were three times higher than in 1956.

And, while food prices rose 36% from 1949 - 1965, prices paid to farmers rose only 6.6%, according to S. B. Wilson, Assistant Minister of Agriculture. During the same period, the cost of agricultural implements rose 57.7%.

The men who take in these profits are careful to preserve the image of Canada as a middle class, suburban, two-car society. "When a society's writers, journalists, editors and other image-creators are a relatively small and closely-linked group, and have more or less the same social background, the images they produce can, because they are consistent, appear to be much more true to life than if the group were larger, less cohesive, and more heterogeneous in character." (The Vertical Mosaic, p. 3)

The extent to which the image-makers are prepared to go to cover up the reality of life was graphically revealed in January, 1966, at the opening of Toronto's east-west subway. Pearson, Ontario Premier Robarts, Toronto Mayor Givens and many other luminaries were present – but the men who worked underground for years to build the subway were refused permission to have a representative on the stand. A



Life is beautiful

- The average life expectancy of a male Canadian Indian is 33 years, as opposed to the Canadian average of 60 years.

- Over one million Canadians are functionally illiterate, having less than four grades of schooling.

- Of Canadian non-students over 15, 46.8% have only elementary or no schooling.

- 95% of Canada's Eskimo population lives in abject poverty.

- The Director of Pearson's "War on Poverty" earns \$25,000 a year.

plaque to the men who were killed working to provide rapid transit was declared "inappropriate" by the transit authorities.

The men at the top use their control of the state not only to present a false image of society through the mass media and the educational system, but also to frustrate any efforts to change reality.

In mid-1964, 300 processing and packing-house workers, mostly women, went on strike in Bradford, just north of Toronto. They were earning 85 cents an hour, with a maximum for maintenance mechanics of \$1.30 an hour. The company hired strike-breakers to work in the factory. One of these scabs drove his car through a picket line, tossing a woman striker onto the hood and then to the ground. The woman had to be hospitalized. Another striker suffered a dislocated foot while saving her two-year-old child from being run over by a scab's car. Another was hit by the same car. Yet the police arrested four strikers -- and none of the scabs.

The reality of our society is a reality of class division, a reality in which the men who own and control the factories, forests and mines also control the state. They use this control to maintain their power and wealth. Every unionist, every striker, has seen the power of the state brought to bear on the side of the employers, through direct police violence, through court injunctions and through anti-labor legislation. All this in the interest of increasing profits by "cutting labor costs".

In seeking a solution to Canadian poverty, Bryan Knight ("Poverty in Canada" *Our Generation*, March 1967) calculates that it would cost between two and three billion dollars to raise all Canadian incomes to a minimum of \$3000 for families and \$1500 for individuals. This is only slightly more than the amount now spent on bureaucratic and inadequate government "welfare" schemes. It is equivalent to the amount spent on "national defense" -- but

our government prefers war against people to a real war on poverty.

Posing such a solution, however, ignores the fact that poverty is more than a question of an unequal distribution of income. Though temporary improvements in the living standard of the poor are necessary to alleviate current misery, in the long run, only a complete transformation of the social structure and the culture that creates poverty will prevent the recreation of the evils these measures are designed to combat. And the government of the wealthy is never going to undertake such a transformation.

The task of mobilizing Canada's great wealth for the benefit of the majority will never be undertaken by those who profit from the present system. It must be carried out by the majority -- by the people who will benefit immensely when equality of opportunity and democracy are more than words in textbooks.

In the words of Young Socialist Forum, Volume 1, Number 1, (December, 1963): "This society places a premium on wealth, not ability or dedication. The vast majority of our people work out their lives for the enrichment of a small minority of profiteers who own the bulk of the economy and through their wealth control the entire society. A decaying economy that staggers from one crisis to another, increasing chronic unemployment -- particularly among youth -- a vicious and unending drive against the rights of labor, and a budget in which one-third of the funds are marked for weapons of mass murder -- all these are hallmarks of the "system" we live under ...

"Freed from the clutches of the profit-gougers and their hangers-on, the major industries must be brought under public ownership and the economy must be planned by the people themselves in their own areas of work.

"It is our generation that must end capitalism's drive toward World War III. We must change the system if we want to simply survive.

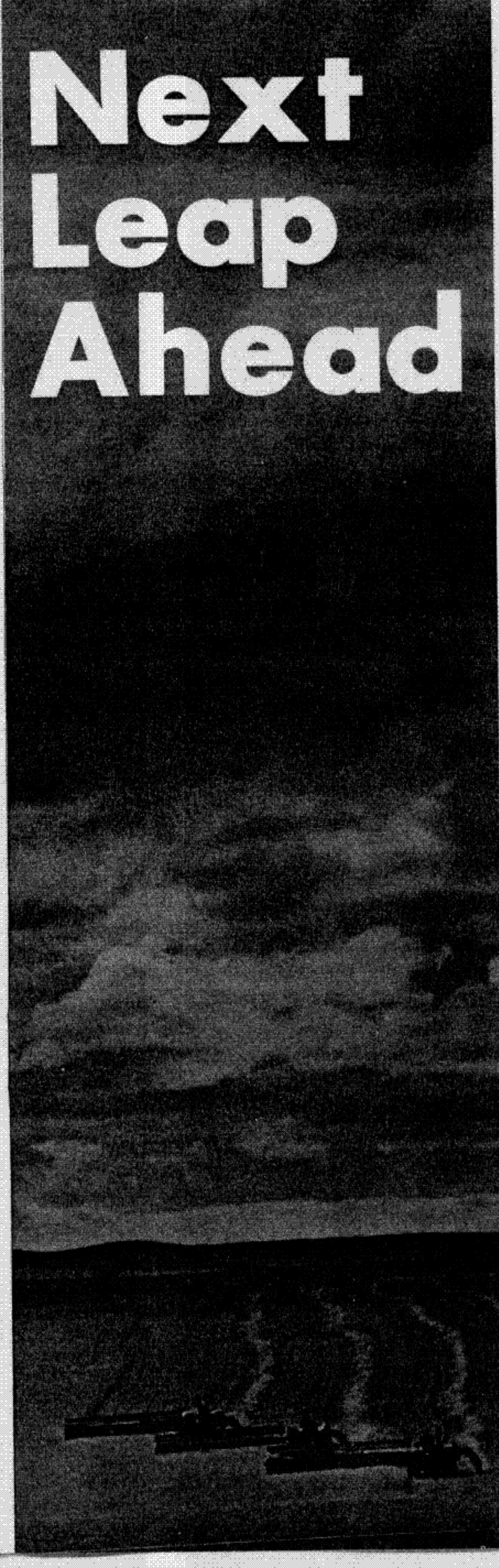
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Next Leap Ahead

By Ross Dowson

Editor's Note: Ross Dowson is the editor of the Workers Vanguard. Our May-June 1966 issue featured an article by him on the French architect, Le Corbusier.

It is no accident that, when asked to put down their thoughts on Canada's future for posterity, by the students at Malvern Collegiate (Toronto), that Prime Minister Pearson commented "it is quite impossible to forecast with any accuracy the shape of things to come"; and that the would-be Tory leaders George Hees predicted only "a united and more prosperous Canada" and Michael Starr that Canada could become the United States of tomorrow. Characteristically NDP leader T.C. Douglas merely expressed belief in Canada, "faith in its future" and dedication "to its destiny" — without in any way defining what he thought this destiny to be.

The capitalist rulers of this country, and their hucksters in the academic, advertising and political arenas, by covering over the truth about the present, hope to hide the fact that Canada, as part of the advanced capitalist sector of the world, is now entering into the period of the greatest revolutionary change in its history.

The primitive communal society of the Indians that prevailed when the white man came to this continent was destroyed in blood and iron — what survived was shoved off onto the outer edges of the community. The feudal regime, artificially imposed in the settled areas of New France, was in turn brushed aside. The agents of the capitalist forces, that triumphed in Britain and later France through great revolutionary deeds, imposed private property in the means of production and the conditions of wage labor on the newly developing continent.

Thus Canada, in its own particular way, went through all the processes of social evolution that western civilization underwent.

The Russian Revolution (its 50th anniversary is being celebrated at the same time as 100 years of Confederation) sounded the death knell of the world capitalist order at the same time as it proclaimed the new world socialist order. Since then the world has been moving unevenly, erratically, but nonetheless forward to socialism. Major sectors of the world's peoples have taken the socialist way. Elsewhere, millions think of themselves and support political parties and movements that declare themselves socialist. North America is indeed the last bulwark of capitalism.

So powerful are the forces driving to this solution, so inexorable are they in their course that in some areas of the globe, the popular struggles took the socialist

road, although their leaderships did not project such a solution. This happened in Yugoslavia, in China and again in Cuba. Fidel Castro and his heroic band launched their struggle from the Sierra Maestra as liberal democrats, but as they met its challenges, evolved into revolutionary socialists.

Those who think Canada will not go socialist are required to explain why this country should be an exception. Canada has developed fully in accord – so far – with the ideas of Marx.

Who, in the face of wave after wave of strikes, rising on several occasions almost to the pitch of general strikes – can deny the existence of the class struggle? Indeed the struggle between labor and capital for a redivision of the surplus product has advanced onto the political plane in Canada to the extent that labor has formed a party of its own, the New Democratic Party, projecting as its aim the taking of political power.

Not only has Canada a developed capitalist economy, but it is one of the most highly monopolized in the world, with extensive imperialist holdings – particularly in Latin America – through which the most ruthless exploitation is conducted. The laws governing capitalism on an international scale allowed no exception to Canada in 1929 when the crash and depression threw thousands out of work and wiped out all their accumulated possessions.

Ever since then, despite the boom initiated by the rehabilitation of war-torn Europe, by the war in Korea, and now Vietnam, despite manipulation of money, credit, and interest, not even the most capitalist-minded would deny that we may almost momentarily be thrust into an economic crisis. They fear that such a crisis will shake society to its very roots and pose as the supreme necessity the placing of the great industrial plants across the country under public ownership, under workers control – to form the substructure of the new social order – socialism.

What is socialism? During the flood tide of the struggles that swept Poland, culminating in the great 1956 Hungarian uprising to establish popular control over the planned economy – a Polish intellectual answered this question. He laid down, one after another, statement upon statement of what socialism is not. Socialism is not the rule of bureaucrats over the people. It is not the shaping of the desires and aspirations of the individual to conform to some preconceived notion of what is in the interests of the whole, etc., etc.

Leon Trotsky, who, as co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution and continuator of Marxism into our epoch, initiated the struggle against Stalinism, once described socialism this way: it is "a pure

and limpid social system which is accommodated to the self government of the toilers... an uninterrupted growth of universal equality – all-sided flowering of the human personality... unselfish, honest and human relations between human beings."

It is no accident that the great socialist thinkers failed to sketch out in any detail the new socialist society. As distinct from the many seekers of utopia down through the ages, they characterized themselves as scientific socialists. Instead of blueprinting the new society, they put under the microscope, they analyzed in the scientific spirit, the society in which we now live – capitalist society – the society out of which the new is destined to come – seeking out its contradictions, discovering the laws governing its motion.

They had no need to idealize man. They saw the totality of man's condition as determining man's consciousness. They saw the class struggle as the lever of social change, and the modern working class, created by capitalism, as the revolutionary force destined to establish the new social conditions necessary for the full development of mankind.

They foresaw the workers, out of painful experience, overcoming their divisions and their hesitations, and out of necessity, seizing the power from the hands of the capitalist class who now possess it, abolishing the whole state structure that they have developed to serve their interests, and forming organs of workers' power. With the release of the capitalist fetters on the productive

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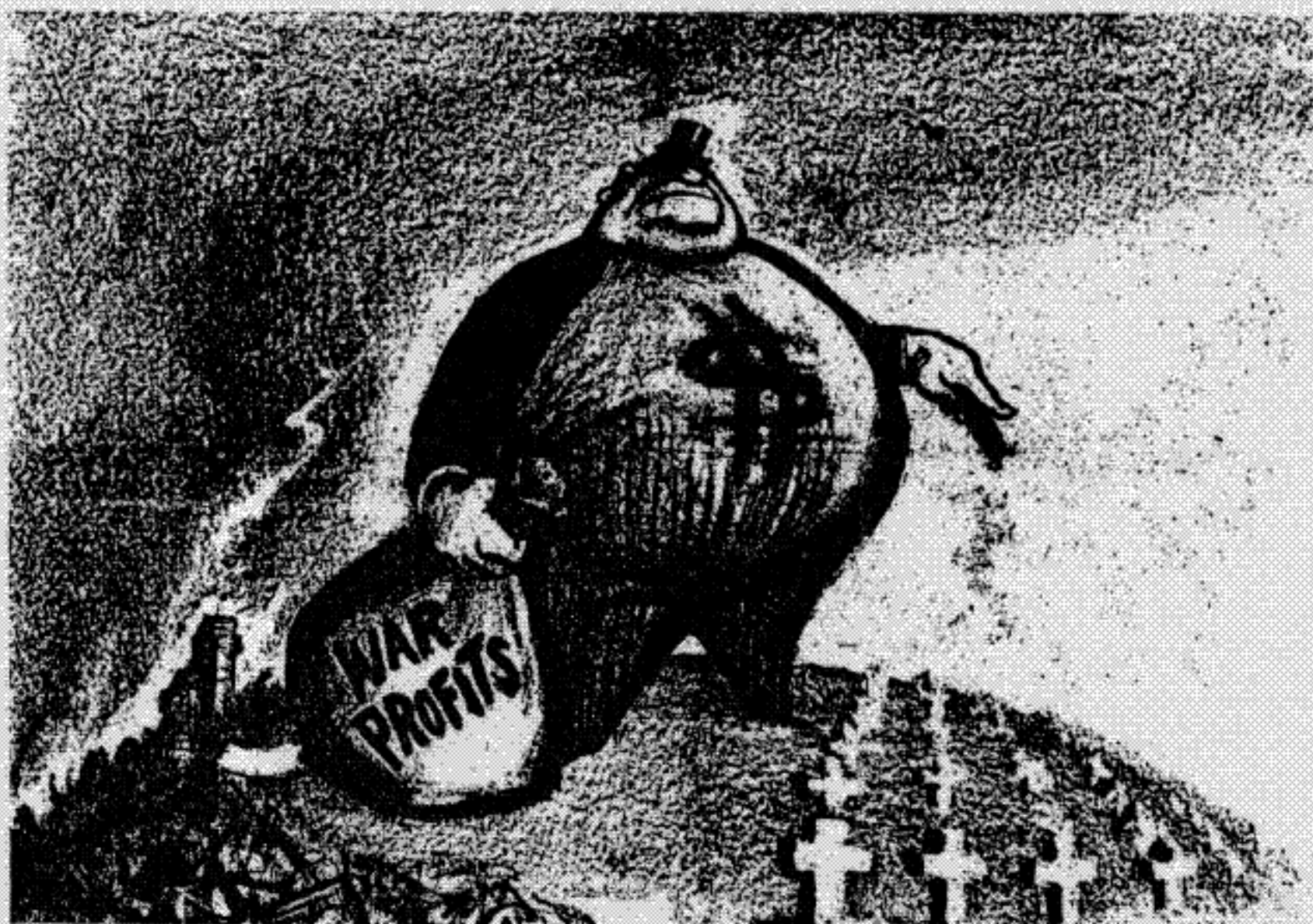
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forces – the least of which are planned obsolescence, and costly and deceptive packaging – and the availability of plenty for all, they foresaw the disappearance of class antagonisms.

Far from promoting class antagonisms and conflicts, Marx saw them as an integral part of, as being built right into the capitalist system. "If," as he put it in the famed *Manifesto*, which he wrote with the youthful Engels, the working class "is compelled to organize as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and as such sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."

Far from being proponents of some all-engulfing statism, Marx and Engels saw the state, as class antagonisms dissipated, beginning to wither away – being transformed as an instrument to preserve democracy into an administrative tool.

While in present day Canada the *raison d'être*, the underlying purpose, of production is the amassing of profits for capital, in the new, free society its sole purpose will be to meet the needs of humankind. In the place of the present anarchy, waste and inefficiency, production will be planned. This planning, contrary to the type now commonly envisaged by would-be-advisors of capital, requires the common ownership of the key and strategic sectors of the economy – in Canada, the banking institutions, the railways, basic steel, the auto and farm implement plants, the forest industries, mining, smelting, etc.

Marx and Engels never thought that a socialist society could be built on the foundations of a backward underdeveloped econ-

omy, although history proved, as Trotsky projected, that the workers, in alliance with the peasantry, could take the power in Russia. They saw socialism as the next stage of social evolution, a higher stage than capitalism, at which level mankind has already conquered nature and has already developed means of production capable of supplying every human need.

If, as Marxism explains – the bureaucracy arose in Russia because of the backwardness of the economy, the low cultural level of the population, its further impoverishment due to the Allied armies of intervention and the extended blockade, what has the future in store for Canada?

Whereas Confederation was foisted on our forefathers, the coming Canadian revolution will be the most profoundly democratic act in our entire history. Those forces that have built and sustained a mighty union movement, created and sustained a mass political party of their own, who will overcome all the chicanery and deception of the ruling class and their high-priced help, to storm and conquer the very citadels of their power, are not likely to succumb to the blandishments of some two-bit operators who might inveigle their way into its ranks for their own purposes. The profoundly democratic instruments necessary to mobilize the vast majority of the population to such a titanic task will separate out the opportunists and frauds.

There is no doubt that the working people will prove able to build the democratic institutions necessary to their struggle. In 1919 the people of Winnipeg, in order to carry forward their general strike, forged a body which sensitively represented every layer of the population – except the employers. While the General Strike Committee co-existed with the City Council, it completely supplanted it. Its representa-

What is Socialism

"Socialism will not be and cannot be inaugurated by decrees; it cannot be established by any government, however admirably socialistic. Socialism must be created by the masses, must be made by every proletarian. Where the chains of capitalism are forged, there must the chains be broken. That only is socialism, and thus only can socialism be brought into being."

-- Rosa Luxemburg

tives, elected largely along occupational lines, subject to immediate recall, serving without pay and in almost constant session, ran the city for 41 days. This committee had the main general characteristics of the workers councils that arose spontaneously in Russia in 1905 and again in 1917 when they led the seizure of power -- and those councils that again arose out of the masses during the great Hungarian uprising of 1956.

Not only will the revolution itself be profoundly democratic, but with its victory will come almost instantaneous benefits for all. Thanks to the tremendous productive capacity we have created across this land, we will be quickly able to satisfy all the basic needs of everyone. There will be no real shortages that would require some kind of policeman to supervise who gets what, and no bureaucrats with the possibility of providing special favors that would allow them to gather up connections that would frustrate the democratic process.

One of the first acts of the popular councils would be to place the factories -- all the key and essential industries -- into the hands of those who operate them. Canada-wide planning boards would be set up. The aid of highly skilled technicians would immediately be enlisted. For the first time they would know that their specialized knowledge would be applied entirely for the benefit of mankind. Should any of them remain sceptical, there is no reason why the new owners could not pay them as well as the old.

They could begin by taking down those dreary reports that the Dominion Bureau of Statistics has been piling up year after year detailing how many Canadians do not have running water, inside plumbing, central heating, vacuum cleaners and washing machines, and immediately eradicate this scandalous situation. That could be the first dividend declared to the benefit of the new shareholders of Canada's plant.

It is obvious that no power on earth would have the possibility or a purpose in attacking us. The American workers, if they have not preceded us, will be going socialist at about the same time as our-

selves, or they would be so far advanced that their rulers would be paralyzed from moving against us in fear that this would be the spark which would settle the whole matter. We could therefore immediately cut out the tremendous wealth that has been wasted in the production of military hardware.

We would immediately declare all military commitments made in our name, both the open ones and the secret ones, null and void. We would relinquish any and all claims that Canadian capitalism has in other lands, its foreign investments, special trade advantages, or whatever they may be.

The new Canada would not draw in on itself, move in the direction of attempting to establish a completely diversified and self-sustaining economy. Gradually, so that there would be no undue stress on any particular community, we would move towards free trade with all peoples.

We would see our wealth as part of mankind's common heritage. And we would immediately act to bring the future development of that section of the world which we inhabit into harmony with a world plan -- a world economy. If at first we traded or exchanged value for value, in no time our United States of North America, with its unparalleled natural resources and productivity, would be producing with no other thought than for the well-being of mankind.

While many prejudices are deeply rooted in the past, they have been sedulously fostered and even whipped up by the ruling class and their agents to divide the workers and pit them against one another and away from their common enemy. The new organs of power would drive out, terminate every element of racial discrimination, particularly as it appears in government regulations such as the immigration legislation and where, if not spelled out, it is intuitively enforced by administrators. They would enact legislation and generate a total atmosphere that would hold up to public condemnation everyone who in any way practiced racial discrimination. It would set an example by opening the door wide to Indians, Eskimos, Negroes, and immigrants from every land, so that they could assume the highest and most respected public posts.

What about Quebec? Any and all ideas that Confederation is some kind of sacred bond to which the Quebecois are committed will be repudiated once and for all. The Quebecois will be assured of their right to self-determination, right up to and including secession. If they have not already solved this matter in the course of the combined struggle of the French and English Canadian workers against the trustards, both Anglais and American, one of the first acts that would probably be considered, in close consultation with the leaders of the working people there, would be to hold

a plebiscite. Here, the complete freedom of the press and the air, to every opinion, no matter how small, that would have already been established, would permit the Quebecois, for the first time, to actually ascertain what they want, and freely act accordingly.

At the same time as the death knell to the age of conformity is sounded, ostentatious displays of eccentricity and individualism will end. Reason and human solidarity will prevail. The cult of youth, so seduously fostered by capitalism, the pitting of youth against age, that alienates one from the other, will be ended. There will be no desire to escape or seek new sensations in drugs when the entire world, with all its mysteries and challenges, will be opened up for investigation and conquest.

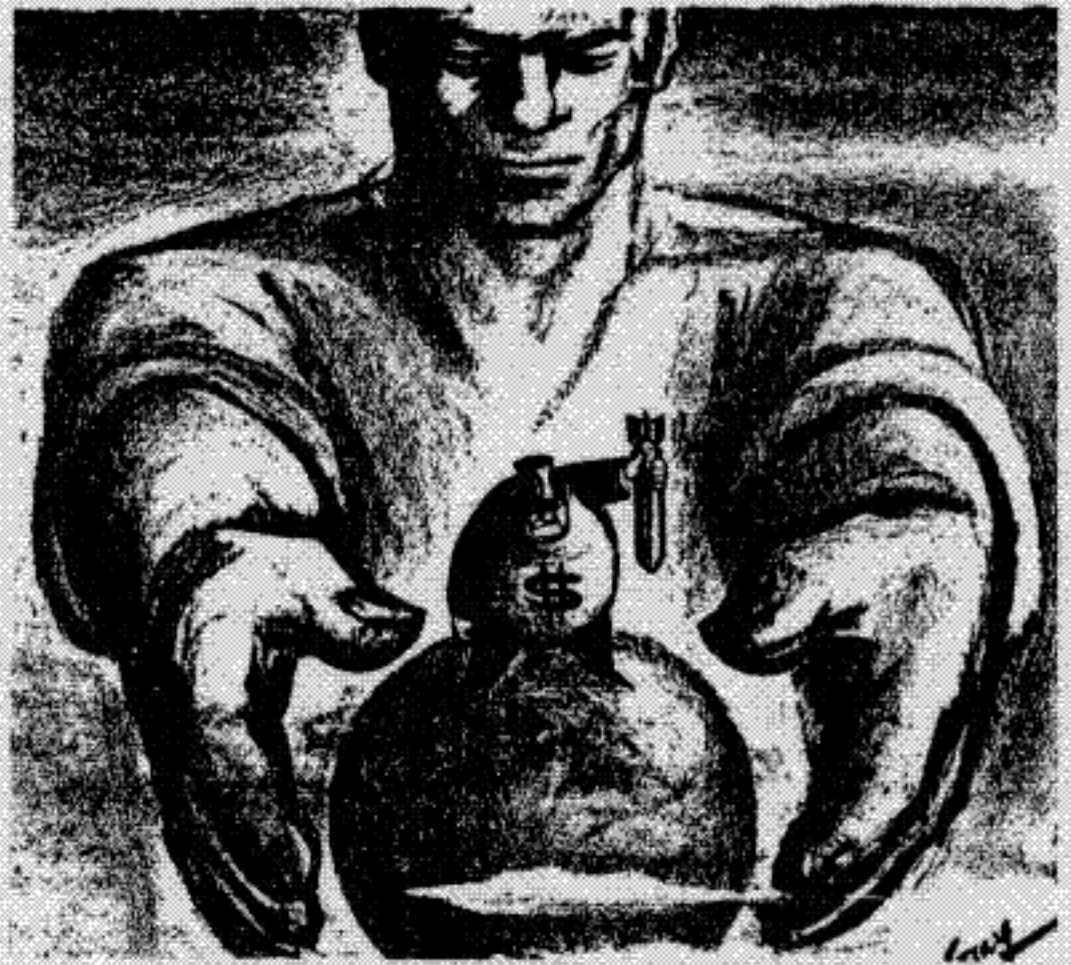
Mankind is moving towards a showdown with all the forces of the old order.

In the capitalist west as elsewhere new challenges are confronting the masses. The patches and piecemeal remedies of the reformers do no good. The affluent society is a myth. As Prime Minister Pearson's advisor Tom Kent expressed it before a federal-provincial conference, the poor -- although they may not be as materially impoverished as in the past, may well be actually worse off in relation to the affluence around them. According to the government's own criteria millions of Canadians live in poverty.

Not the least of the new challenges is the technological revolution called automation, which is undermining the entire structure and old established relations. Sir Geoffrey Vickers told a conference on automation, called by the 'Ontario government a couple of years ago, that it is causing a "social revolution". "We must find a way," he urged, "to assimilate the unemployed and a way to distribute goods and services free according to need. If society does either or both to the degree that will meet the problem it will obviously be completely transformed."

That is the challenge before the people of Canada, particularly the youth who, with their idealism, with their example of selflessness and determination, are moving out in increasing numbers in the anti-war movement. The road ahead will be hard. It will be costly. For we are required, nothing more nor less, than to carry forward the revolutionary struggle that William Lyon Mackenzie and Louis-Joseph Papineau launched in 1837. That revolution exhausted itself so that as Mackenzie, commenting on its fate in the U.S., saw: "the power of the community pass from democracy of numbers into the hands of an aristocracy -- not of noble ancestry and ancient lineage, but of monied monopolists; and jobbers and heartless politicians." It is necessary to carry the Canadian revolution on to its

A Workers' World — or None!



socialist stage -- to make it permanent.

The struggle will be hard, but the prize is without compare. It is nothing more nor less than Canada itself. Canada -- the tide surging up the Bay of Fundy, the sea's harvest being unloaded in the harbor at St. Johns, the old world atmosphere of Quebec City, the swirling tempo of Montreal, the din and bustle of the Oshawa assembly line, the lush fruitlands of the Niagara peninsula, the solemn majesty of the headlands on Superior, the sweeping expanse of the Prairie wheat fields, the awesome glory of the forests of British Columbia.

This Canada, the Canada that we wrested from the wilderness, that we shaped and forged with our sweat and toil will be ours!

Celebrate Confederation, one hundred years of work and wages, one hundred years of injustice, by joining the struggle for a socialist Canada in a socialist world now. The time is short -- for there is no question that the rulers of America are threatening the world, Canada included, its beauties, our achievements, and all our hopes and aspirations, with nuclear destruction.

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GARY PORTER, YSF's Editor, was Eastern Regional Organizer of the Ontario New Democratic Youth in 1966. At the same time he was a Provincial Council member of the New Democratic Party. The Party expelled him for his socialist views in January 1967.

CANDI CLARKE is an American University student who became involved in the National Farm Workers of America. After working with the strikers in Delano, Candi Clarke, with several other NFWA representatives, came to Canada to organize a boycott of Giumarra grapes.

JACQUIE HENDERSON is the Organizer of the Toronto Young Socialists and is an Executive Council member of the YS/LJS. She participated in Vancouver's famous Holiday Theatre.

BARRIE ZWICKER, 33, education reporter for The Globe and Mail, is currently attending The University of Toronto on a Southam Fellowship for journalists. He is studying the relationship of education, technology and business.

We're bigger

1968! And Young Socialist Forum is bigger and better than ever. We are starting the new year with a new and larger format made possible by the 100% success of our recent fund drive. We have allocated more resources to the production and distribution of YSF to give our readers improved and consistent service.

This issue of Young Socialist Forum marks the beginning of our seventh year of publication. We have come a long way since YSF first appeared as a mimeographed discussion bulletin presenting the arguments for socialism in the British Columbia New Democratic Youth. After the 1962 expulsions in the BCNDY, YSF continued to be published as a printed newspaper.

In the pages of YSF there is a living history of the past seven years for socialist youth in Canada. As American involvement in the Vietnam war grew, YSF called on young people, in October '65, to "work for the formation of broad, non-exclusive anti-war committees, open to all viewpoints, and uniting all tendencies of the anti-war movement and socialist movements in the struggle against the American war."

In the process of the formation of these broad anti-war committees, YSF participated in debates over demands and objectives of the new movement. We argued for the adoption of the slogans, "Withdraw U.S. Troops" and "End Canadian Complicity".

In July 1967, another milestone was recorded in YSF — the founding conference of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

Young Socialist Forum had drawn around itself a nucleus of activists who wanted to recruit young Canadians to the fight for socialism. At the three-day conference young people from the New Democratic Youth, the anti-war movement, and from high school and university campaigns for democracy in education exchanged experiences and discussed problems of the fight for socialism in Canada.

Future issues of YSF will continue to provide discussion on socialist ideas. We will also be carrying more feature articles such as the Huelga article in this issue. YSF will continue to bring you news on the activities of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes in your area. We hope that we will soon be in a position to further expand YSF to better present the revolutionary path for students working towards a socialist transformation of Canada. You, our readers, with your financial and political contributions, can help us.

NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY



"Student radicals face a big problem."

by Gary Porter

Student radicals face a big problem. On a world scale they find it increasingly obvious whom they must support and whom they must oppose. They know they must support the heroic freedom fighters of Vietnam against the aggression of U.S. imperialism. They support Che Guevara and the struggle of the colonial peoples against their oppressors. Growing numbers of students identify with the black liberation fighters in the ghettos of America's cities.

They are finding out that the same

small class that last year sold \$370,000,000 worth of arms to the U.S. military for use against the Vietnamese people also rules this country and its schools, and they don't like it.

They don't like schools that glorify a system in which war profiteers live luxuriously while they themselves are shackled with loans to pay for their education. They don't like the schools, and they don't like the prospect of a lifetime of working at a boring job, financing the boss' Florida vacation. Increasing numbers of students are coming to realize that the system must be changed. But how? That is the problem they face.

Old-timers of 22 years of age remember the days back in 1961, when, amid ballyhoo and hoopla the New Democratic Party was launched. Many of us sincerely felt we were on the threshold of the new society — a freer, more just, more humane society — a socialist society.

The NDP leadership, however, had other ideas, and still has. They aren't interested in building a socialist Canada. They want to bandage up the present society and keep it limping along. As this became clearer many radical students felt cruelly deceived. Today students in search of the path to socialism often dismiss the NDP without so much as a serious look.

Yet the most important fact about the formation of the New Democratic Party has been overlooked. Together with the remnants of the old Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the NDP was founded and built by the

trade unions, the basic organizations of the working class. It is not a party of war profiteers, it is a party of organized workers. These workers have split irrevocably from the business-controlled Liberal and Tory parties and have built a party of their own. But why is that important to us?

This key question is taken up in a very important article which appeared in the *New Left Committee Bulletin*, entitled *1848 and All That; or, Whatever Happened to the Working Class?* Speaking of the desire of student radicals to transform Canadian society, authors Myrna Wood and Peggy Morton write: "We are very much aware of the tendency of this society to absorb dissent rather than openly fight it. This makes it important for us to talk about organizing by asking what issues the establishment can absorb dissent about, and which it cannot. It seems that work is the major, if not the only issue we can organize around that will not lead us down the garden path of liberal reformism that so many others in North America have gone. Control of work and the products of labor must be a fundamental part of this organizing . . ." If the word "orientation" were substituted for "organizing" (because students who have no direct connection with the factories cannot hope to organize workers) the statement would be perfectly correct.

This is a profit-motivated private property system. The labor of workers in all the factories, mines and mills of this country is the source of that profit.

"It is not a party of war profiteers..."

But they are not permitted to keep it. Because the means of production are privately owned the small class that owns them can claim the workers' product for themselves and sell it to realize their profit. In return the workers get only a fraction of the value of what they produce in the form of wages. Two very clear conclusions flow from this. First, the workers are absolutely essential to the functioning of the capitalist system. As long as the workers accept their lot capitalism will remain, despite the protests of students. Without the workers, however, capitalism cannot stand.

The second conclusion is that the workers are exploited by capitalism, that they have no reason to maintain the present system apart from illusions of security which capitalism's recurring recessions periodically shatter. These two factors make it both necessary and practicable to orient to the working class, to the immense majority, as the force that will lead Canada out of the anarchy and ruthless inhumanity of capitalist society towards socialism.

The problem arises immediately, how can students, in anything but mere words, orient their struggles for a better society to the working class? Here the New Democratic Party becomes immediately relevant. While we as students cannot organize workers in factories (in fact, we have a big task organizing students!) simply because we are not in the factories, we can participate in the party of the organized workers.

Student radicals should join the NDP and participate in the activities of the party in whatever ways are open to them. They should raise the key questions of our time, such as the war against Vietnam and the need for na-

tionalization of the means of production. Objections about the lack of democracy in the NDP and its reform program are understandably raised, but none of these objections alter the inexorable fact that the workers will lead the movement for change in Canada and the NDP is *their* party. The task is to change the NDP, not to desert it.

Furthermore, the NDP, like everything else, is in constant change, and the time will come when the workers will no longer tolerate the reformism of the present leadership. Student radicals can help that time to come.

Recent issues of the *Alberta Democrat* illustrate some of the possibilities that develop. Editor Ken Novakowski (also federal president of the New Democratic Youth) has opened the pages of the official organ of the Alberta NDP to a "discussion of issues which are of central concern to the party's development as a political force in Alberta."

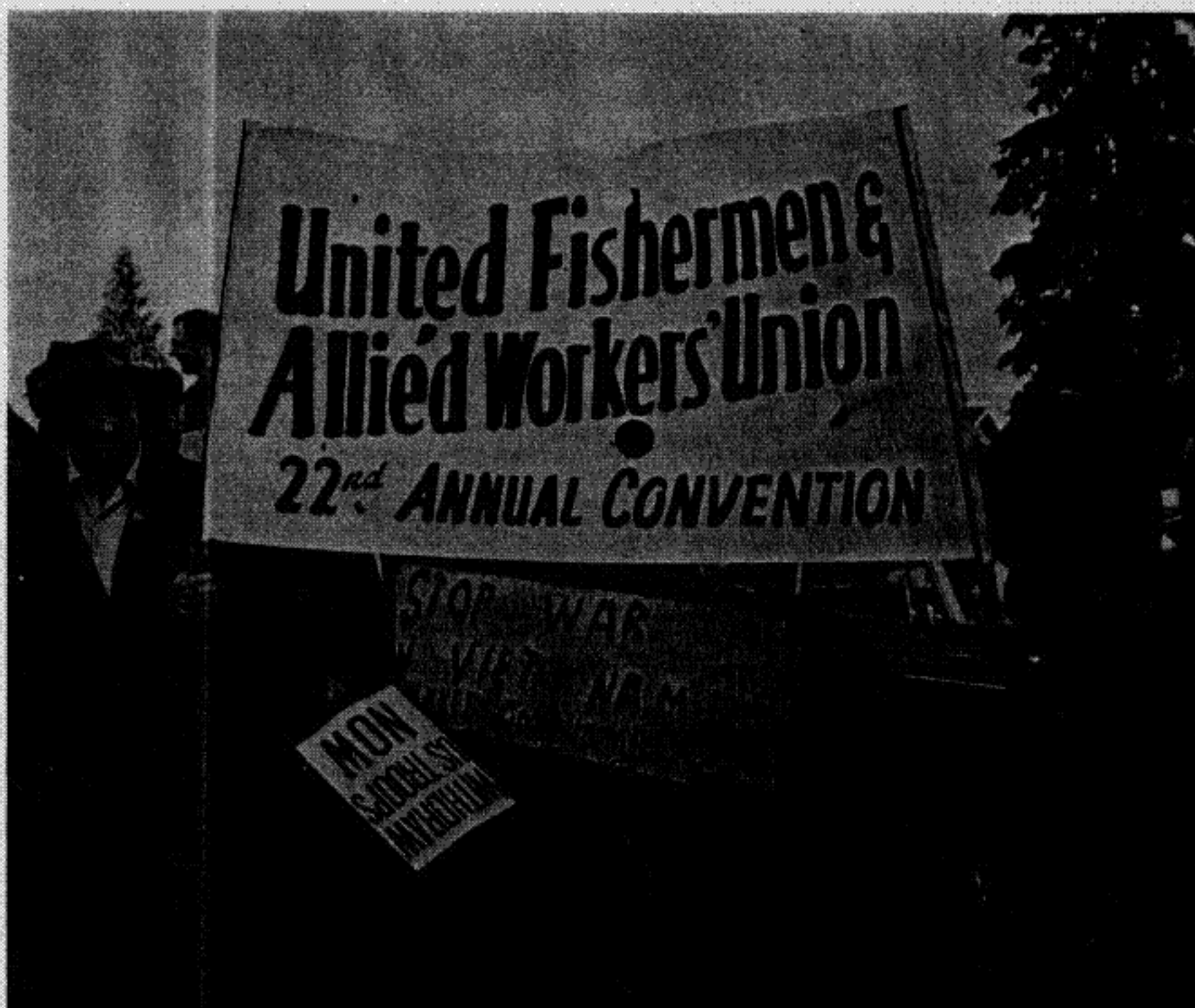
There are no limits placed upon the range of the discussion and "all points of view will be given equal space". Against the opposition of Alberta NDP Leader Neil Reimer, the debate is already raging over key questions such as the NDP foreign policy and its policy on nationalization of industry. Although the contributions to the discussion from the left point of view are not all of even calibre, and some ir-

responsible statements have been made which are derogatory about the whole party and not merely critical of the leadership, nevertheless this debate reveals the fact that occasions for open discussion do occur. In Alberta it is the students and youth in the NDP who are in the forefront of the push "for Socialism and a socialist Canada". These people have an excellent opportunity through the labor party to win workers to their position if they develop their basic socialist ideas into a program, and present it effectively.

Not all of us will have opportunities for such a full discussion of the basic questions, but it is certainly necessary to join the NDP, to keep in touch with activities and discussions in the party.

Further, and perhaps most important is the necessity of an NDP orientation in the daily work of the student movement. Although students, for example, are the leaders (at this point) of the campaign to end Canadian complicity in the Vietnam war, they have neither the numbers nor the strategic position in society to force an end to it. Such strength will be had with the intervention of the New Democratic Party.

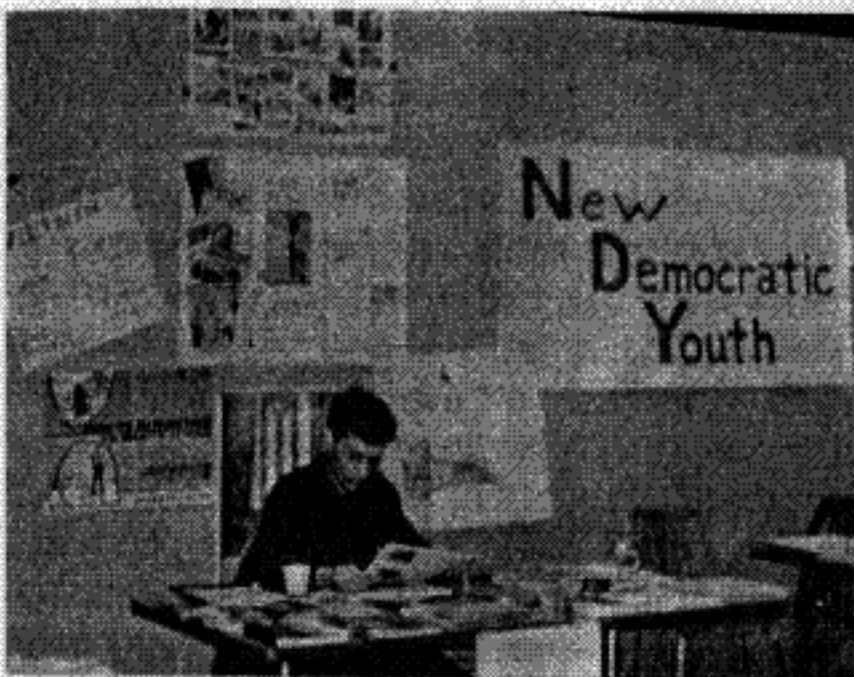
There is a real possibility that this may occur. The convention of the Saskatchewan section, for example, recently passed the following resolution: . . . be it resolved that the New Demo-



The United Fishermen's Union is presently embattled in a militant struggle against the use of the ex parte injunction by B.C. courts. Unfortunately the union, struggling for its life, is not affiliated to the NDP and therefore is deprived of a powerful political arm in their campaign.



Gary Porter and Lyle Severin (now in Vancouver) discuss tactics for the Left Caucus at the Ontario NDY convention February, 1966.



John Lejderman operates a literature table for the campus NDY club in Edmonton.

cratic Party demand an immediate end to Canadian complicity in the Vietnam war, an immediate cessation of sales of war material to the U.S. and, more important, that the Canadian government speak out clearly to disassociate itself from American policy in Vietnam and . . . that we direct our National Executive and our Federal M.P.'s to actively advance this policy." The 535 delegates at that convention represented 33,500 members.

When the NDP enters the anti-war movement there is a powerful possibility of winning the struggle to end Canadian complicity, a very important factor to the mass of students who hold the view that if a thing cannot be won, why fight the battle? Of course the NDP is also the party that will aid the students most in their student power struggles. The NDP calls for the lowering of the voting age to 18 and the opening of the university to the sons and daughters of the working class.

So the need for a working class organization as the *NLC Bulletin* points out is very real. Let us make this orientation concrete by supporting the party of the trade unions.

Let us fight to change the NDP, to win it to a socialist program; but we must never forget that by its very composition it is objectively a party aimed against the system, composed of those who will change the system.

"...it is a party of organized workers."



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- write 32 Cecil Street Toronto 2B, Ontario

HUELGA



Interview with Candi Clarke

Huelga means strike! *Huelga* is the cry of Cesar Chavez' union, the National Farm Workers of America, which has forged the workers of Delano, California into the most powerful agricultural union in the history of American labor struggles.

Huelga keeps them organizing and on the picket line for twenty hours a day. Some of the workers have been on strike since 1965 and have lost everything they owned. Despite beatings and violence from the growers, endless legal harassment, and an acutely impoverished strike budget, the members of the NFWA are determined to force the growers to recognize and negotiate with their union. This is the first step towards achievement of the most basic rights of LBJ's "Great Society" — acknowledgement from the growers of Delano and the Government of the United States that the farm workers too are human beings. Then, maybe, they can send their kids to school, get steady jobs, even eat regularly. *Huelga* is their only means to achieve this.

In this YSF interview, Candi Clarke, NFWA representative in Toronto, reveals the conditions under which the agricultural workers live and work as she saw them. This, in the year 1968, is their story.

"You start by meeting the workers, visit them at their homes, where they work, catching the workers at their buses in the early morning. Once you have made contact, meetings are called to find out what the workers' grievances are. Once the workers and Union organizers feel they can strike and stick it out the grower is approached and the strike is called. The workers have to be prepared to walk the picket line 12 hours a day, talk to other workers afterwards, stay up 'round the clock watching for trucks, stay off the job and take the economic consequences.

"I am sure many of them did not

realize the full impact of it, only that they had to strike and this time they would win. So they have gotten involved and stayed these two years, and I know people out there who will stay for the rest of their lives. Cesar and those who work closely with him will stay to the end, regardless of what monetary benefits they will receive.

"The strikes we have called are to force the grower to 'recognize' the union. He must be compelled to accept the union as the representative of the workers and make contracts with us. We are dealing with workers with very little union experience so we never strike until we are assured of winning. We don't just gather some workers together and pull a strike. The mechanism and people to maintain the strike must be established first.

"The National Farm Workers is the only group to have this machinery. They have established and maintain a credit union, service center, co-operative gas station and clinic. In the beginning when people joined the strike we tried to assume their financial obligations, pay off what they were stuck for on time payments.

"Poor people tend to become 'consumer oriented' very rapidly, and try

AVERAGE U.S. FARM WORKER

- there are 2.5 million in America
- 84% earn less than the official poverty level.
- they can get only 154 days of work per year (average)
- their average hourly wage is \$1.10

His Children

- 2/3 of those under the age of three have never been immunized against diphtheria, whooping cough, lockjaw or small pox.
- bad teeth are universal
- in some areas they do up to 1/2 the harvest work
- over 60% of the farms work children illegally.

to buy things that are way beyond their means. They want some of the things that the rest of society has and takes for granted. They are desperate for something — anything, beautiful in the dirty lives they lead, something pretty and nice in the midst of the sadness and misery they live in.

"These people sense the humiliation of their position. Although they are isolated from the mainstream of American life they still have access to it, if only through a TV in a bar. They feel they have been beaten enough, hurt enough, been the victims of discrimination enough. They know that the rest of the nation is living in much better conditions, plenty of decent food to eat, a comfortable home, and all the other things the farm worker lacks. Many of them come from Mexico where they have experienced the spirit of the revolution there. Although the ideals of democracy, human rights, and representative government may be meaningless now, the people still cherish them and are striving to attain them again.

"Many of these people are immigrants, and it is common practice to play off one group against another. These people are extremely vulnerable to exploitation and discrimination. They are new to the country, don't know their rights, and risk being deported if they become too vocal.

"Another problem is that they just don't speak the language, and seldom have any chance to go to school. Farm labor is not a job where the man goes out to the fields, allowing his wife to remain home and the children to go to school. Each one works to try and bring in what little income he can. Many families migrate, and follow the crops so extensively children are never in school long enough to grow accustomed to it. Some never get enough education to move from one grade to the next, get so far behind and frustrated they drop out. Many of these kids are very poor. They go without clothes and shoes, and it is a very, very humiliating experience to go to school when you are laughed at.

"One incident, which reveals the gen-

eral situation concerns a teacher who instructed the son of a grower to lead several Mexican children out of a classroom. 'He is going to learn how to handle these people and give them orders, and they are going to have to learn how to accept them', she explained. The attitude is that these people are not to be educated as doctors, lawyers, professors or scientists, rather passed through a process to get them out to work as quickly as possible and teach them to respect and obey their grower.

"Communities use a portion of their membership, especially a certain designated group, to be the laborers. Because of this attitude some children don't get any education at all. The community must realize that we need laborers as much as we need scientists and since both are necessary to the running of the country both should get equal rights.

"Giumarra, the man we are striking now, is the largest grower of table grapes in North America. He has about twelve thousand acres altogether and the profit on the grapes alone is 12 million dollars. He also grows plums, potatoes and cotton, and has one-sixth rights to all the oil on his property.

"Giumarra started out selling fruit from a push cart in Toronto. He went to California and began to accumulate land. One method of building up his holdings was to lend money or other forms of financial assistance to growers. His rates of interest and other charges are just phenomenal; two and three hundred percent is not unusual for him.

"Sympathetic as I am to the typical 'American success story', it is no excuse for his becoming a giant and stepping all over everyone else.

"Besides striking at Giumarra we had to get at his product and stop what was picked from getting out. That is why we are stressing a boycott. Although we signed up over 90% of his workers, the NFWA is still young and working against tremendous odds. With the boycott we manage to put pressure on from all angles.

"We have set up picket lines at railroads and trucking firms and terminals that handle his grapes. We try to persuade the major food chains to avoid his products, and sometimes we set up an informational picket around a supermarket.

"To counter this, Giumarra is using the boxes and labels of some thirty other growers. To confuse us he trucks to and from their sheds and ships in other growers' car lots. So we have been forced to extend the boycott to all the growers of Delano. It makes it harder, but our people are determined to win.



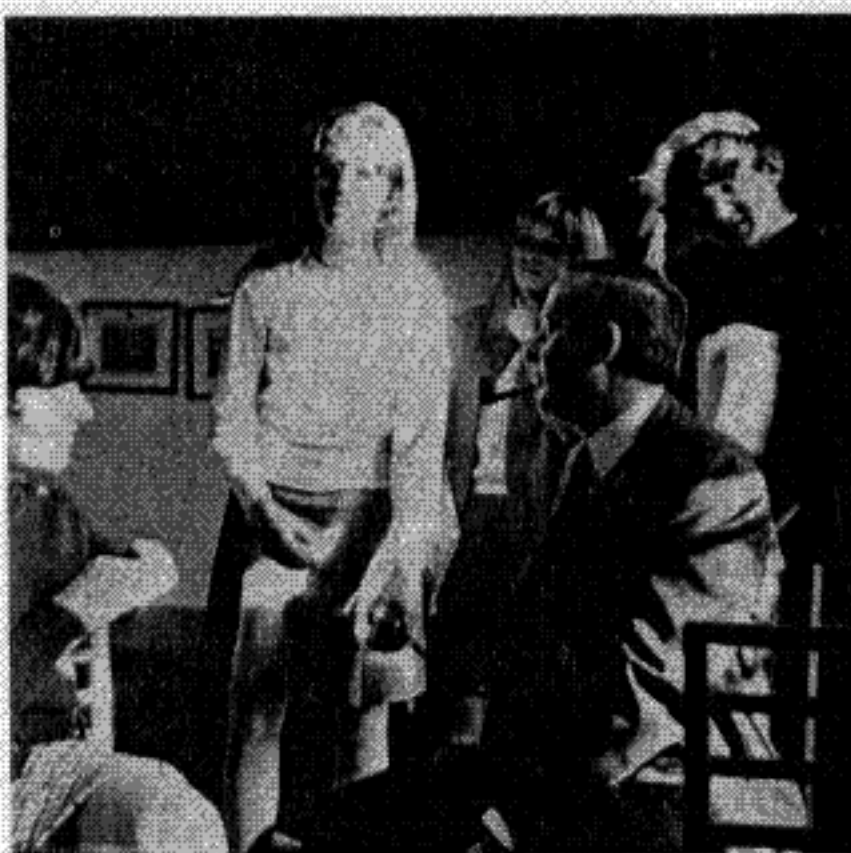
"The growers insist that actual migrant wages are higher because housing is provided. But it is rare that a migrant gets free housing and when he does, the value of it can easily be overestimated."



"Huelga! Strike!" cries a picket leader over a bullhorn, urging the workers to leave the vineyard and join the union.

end campus

"We can win massive support on the campus."



(left to right) Diane Mossman, York U. Toronto; Betty-Jane Antanavicius, U. of Guelph Ontario; Margot Trevelyan, McMaster U. Hamilton; Laurier LaPierre, a vice-president of the NDP and Joe Young, chairman of SAEWV discuss the Assembly at the conclusion of Mr. LaPierre's speech to the participants.

The Student Assembly to End the War in Vietnam held in Toronto, December 28 and 29, resolved to "Drive the War makers Off Campus". The 125 participants from 23 universities and several high schools from coast to coast will organize students to demand an end to job recruiting by companies engaged in the war in Vietnam, research campus complicity and stop university war research.

The conference set Feb. 9 as a cross-Canada Student Day of Protest against campus complicity. Because of its coast-to-coast united character the February 9 protest is expected to give a powerful impetus to the growth of a mass student movement against the Vietnam war.

Laurier LaPierre, federal vice-president of the New Democratic Party, spoke to the Assembly and called for a policy of confrontation. "When men refuse to confront they will accept the status quo and it is the status quo which destroys, which makes us sick human beings. All I care about", he concluded, "is that you do something about the society."

Syd Stapleton, editor of the *Student Mobilizer*, organ of the Student Mobilization Committee, which initiated the April 15 and October 21 mass demonstrations in the United States, said, "Student Power and stopping war recruiters are often interlocked, but the struggle to end the war must be given priority where the two objectives do not coincide." He also stated that the percentage of American soldiers opposed to the war is comparable to that found in the general population. "The struggle against the war is of world importance."

"There will be a million people," he said, "in the demonstrations at the Democratic convention in Chicago — but that's including the troops." Stapleton charged the police and administration with attempting to break up the American anti-war movement, cit-



Jeff White, editor of the *Canada-Vietnam Newsletter*.

ing police brutality against the student demonstrators in New York during "Stop the Draft Week", Dec. 4 - 8.

Ian Angus, Executive Council member of the YS-LJS, said, "The international anti-war movement allows the individual in the demonstration to see a larger perspective than can be seen in his own area. The anti-war movement must unite on Canada-wide and worldwide actions to strike powerful blows at the Canadian government's complicity and the American government's criminal actions in Vietnam. We can win massive support not only on the campus but among the population all across the country."

The Assembly adjourned to be reconvened in the Canadian Industries, Limited building. Participants marched to the building chanting, "Pearson, Martin, CIL, How many weapons do you sell?"

ous complicity



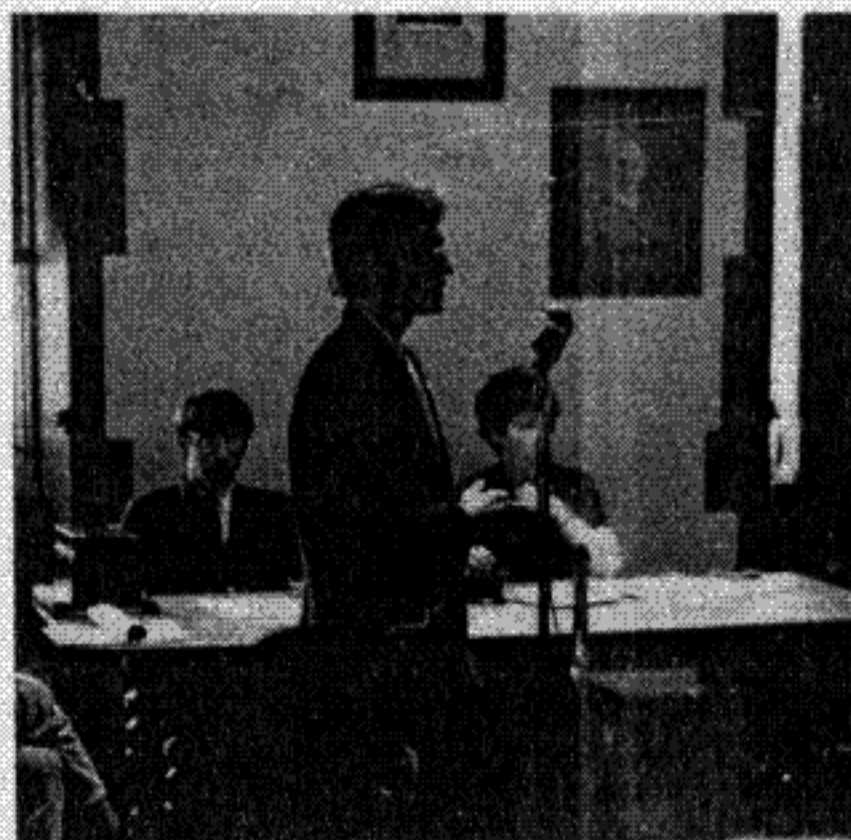
Chanting "Pearson, Martin, CIL, How many weapons do you sell?", participants in the Assembly march to Canadian Industries Limited to protest arms sales.

The diversity of political groups at the conference demonstrates the inclusion of more diverse forces in the student anti-war movement. The militant character of the speeches and resolutions indicate a deepening understanding of the interconnections between the universities, Canadian corporations, the government and the American military.

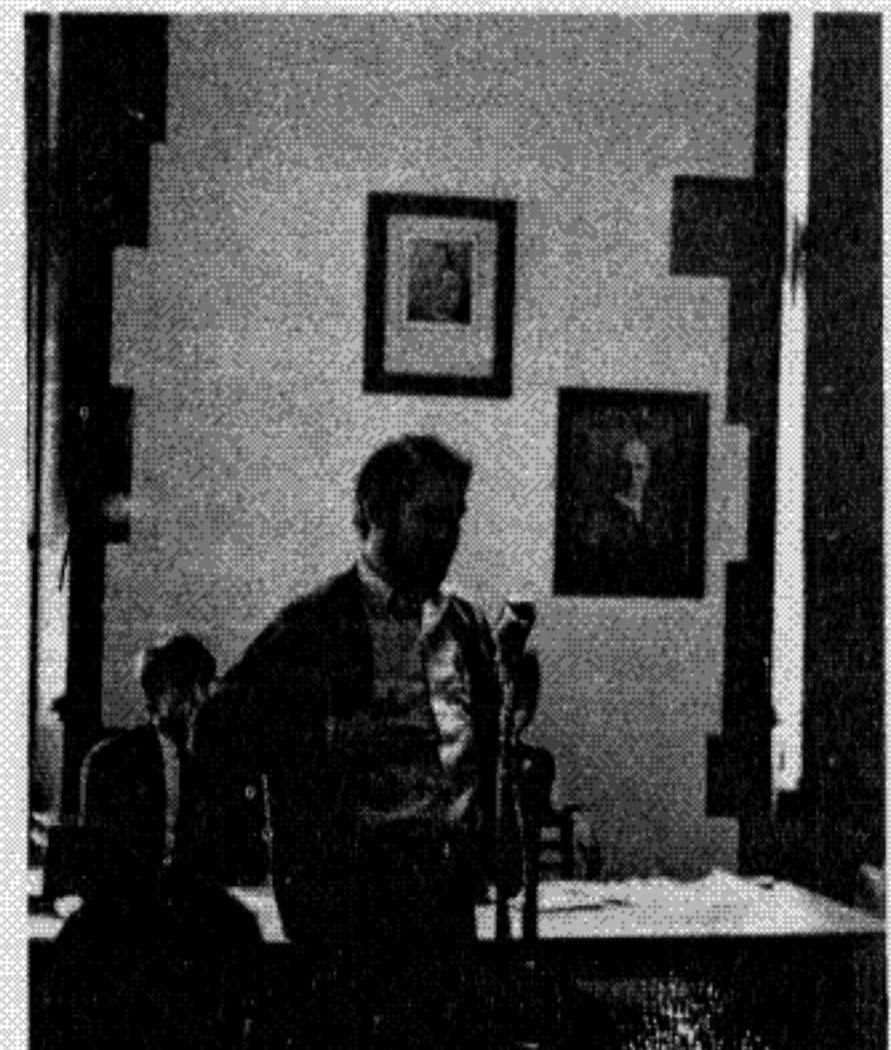
Besides the many unaffiliated students, in attendance there were Young Socialists, Independent Socialists, New Leftists, and members of the Communist Party of Canada.

The student anti-war movement will now try to build a mass movement on the campus, educate greater numbers of students about the war, influence student governments, aid the high school anti-war groups and try to get support from formerly uncommitted and hostile elements on campus.

"Pearson, Martin, CIL,
How many weapons do you sell?"



Chris Thurrott, member of the Federal Executive of the NDY from Halifax, reports to the Assembly from a workshop. Chris was elected Eastern Regional Organizer of SAEWV by the Assembly.



Brian Slocock of Simon Fraser University.



Brecht:

Artist & Revolutionist

"In the earthquakes that are to follow I greatly hope I shan't grow too embittered to puff at my cigar."

"Brecht believed in realism."

by Jacquie Henderson

In the past twelve years since his death, Bertolt Brecht has been transformed from a troublesome but gifted playwright into one of the most popular artists of the twentieth century. He is praised as a modern Shakespeare, a genius (even if his politics *did* interfere with his art).

What is the reason for his unanimous acclaim only now, after his death? As Bernard Shaw's play, *Saint Joan*, puts it, "The heretic is always better dead. And mortal eyes cannot distinguish the saint from the heretics."

Playgoers in floor-length dresses pretend Brecht to be a quaint expression of German anti-fascism. They change the heretic into a saint. But the student who accidentally picks up one of his plays knows a different Brecht. He can see in Brecht one of today's strongest opponents of the war against Vietnam and an eloquent friend of the Cuban Revolution.

Brecht came from a well-off family, but at an early age he left his "own class and joined the common people". Brecht was the voice of oppressed mankind. Even his first plays were a violent reply to the violent and senseless society he witnessed.

His life and work were shaped by war and revolution. Like all other twentieth century human beings, Brecht never saw a period that wasn't dominated by war. The First World War was already clouding the clear air of his home town, Augsburg, by the time he was twenty. He wrote:

"I am a physician by education. As a boy I was mobilized in the war and placed in a hospital. I dressed wounds, applied iodine, gave enemas, performed blood transfusions. If the doctor ordered me, 'Amputate a leg, Brecht,' I would answer, 'Yes your excellency', and cut off the leg. If I was told, 'Make a trepanning,' I opened the man's skull and tinkered with his brains. I saw how they patched people up in order to ship them back to the front as soon as possible."

The war added anger to his reason and fire to his pen. But more than the war, the revolutionary spirit that swept through Europe in response to the Russian Revolution left its imprint on Brecht. When even small Augsburg raised the banner of Soviet power, Brecht was elected to the Revolutionary Committee. Government troops quickly crushed the many insurrections and returned "order" to Augsburg. But Brecht had already learned how to direct his art towards ending the horror he witnessed.

He studied the works of Marx and Lenin. There he found scientific solutions to the brutal misery his pen exposed. Although he felt the pain of his oppressed brothers, Brecht was not sentimental. Reality is of tough metal; our solutions to the problems it poses must be finely worked if we are to shape it, said the philosophy of Bertolt Brecht. He couldn't accept things as they appeared to be. He questioned everything. He was like the young boy who, when given an answer to his question by a busy adult, responds with, "But why then is that so?" His belief in the socialist future stemmed from this close examination of reality.

In his study of capitalist economics, Brecht found that chaos and wars at the expense of the working people were not just small aspects of capitalist society, but rather the basis of the society



Spartacist (Communist) riflemen in Berlin in January 1919.

itself. He studied intently the contradictions, becoming fascinated by the capitalist ideology. Repeatedly his major characters were crooks — capitalists without their silk gloves. In *The Three-penny Novel*, MacHeath, a small-time crook who makes it to the top in a very business-like manner, says:

"What is the burgling of a bank compared to the founding of a bank? What, my dear Grooch, is the murder of a man compared to the employment of a man? . . . Another time I sold a house which didn't belong to me; it was empty at the time . . . That can be done just as easily by putting up a row of jerry-built houses, selling them on the installment plan and waiting until the purchasers run out of money! Then one has the houses as well and can repeat the process as often as one likes . . . We must build up, not pull down; that is, we must build up for profit."

Once Brecht had concluded that revolution was necessary he didn't shrink from any of the implications of that conclusion. He wrote:

To kill inspires us with horror and
Yet we kill, not only the others, but also
ourselves as well,
If need be.
For violence alone can transform
This murdering world; whoever lives
Knows that.
We are not yet permitted, we used to
say,
Not to kill.
We have reflected searching for
A better solution.
Now it is your turn to reflect: find
A better solution.

Many years of Brecht's life were spent in exile from his native country. As one of fascism's most important enemies he was forced to flee first to Denmark, then to Sweden and in 1941 to the United States of America. Brecht was a consistent opponent of fascism. But he had no illusions about "good capitalism" fighting against "bad fascism". The only difference between the fascist and the 'democratic' capitalist countries, according to Brecht, was that in the latter "the butchers wash their hands before bringing in the meat." In 1947, Brecht's concept of capitalist democracy was verified before the world: he was subjected to the inquisition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Brecht wanted a dramatic form suited to his purpose — that of convincing people to change the world. He was an enemy of the play that asked its audience to lose itself in the story — to cry for the poor mother who has lost

her son. He didn't want just cheap sympathy. He demanded action.

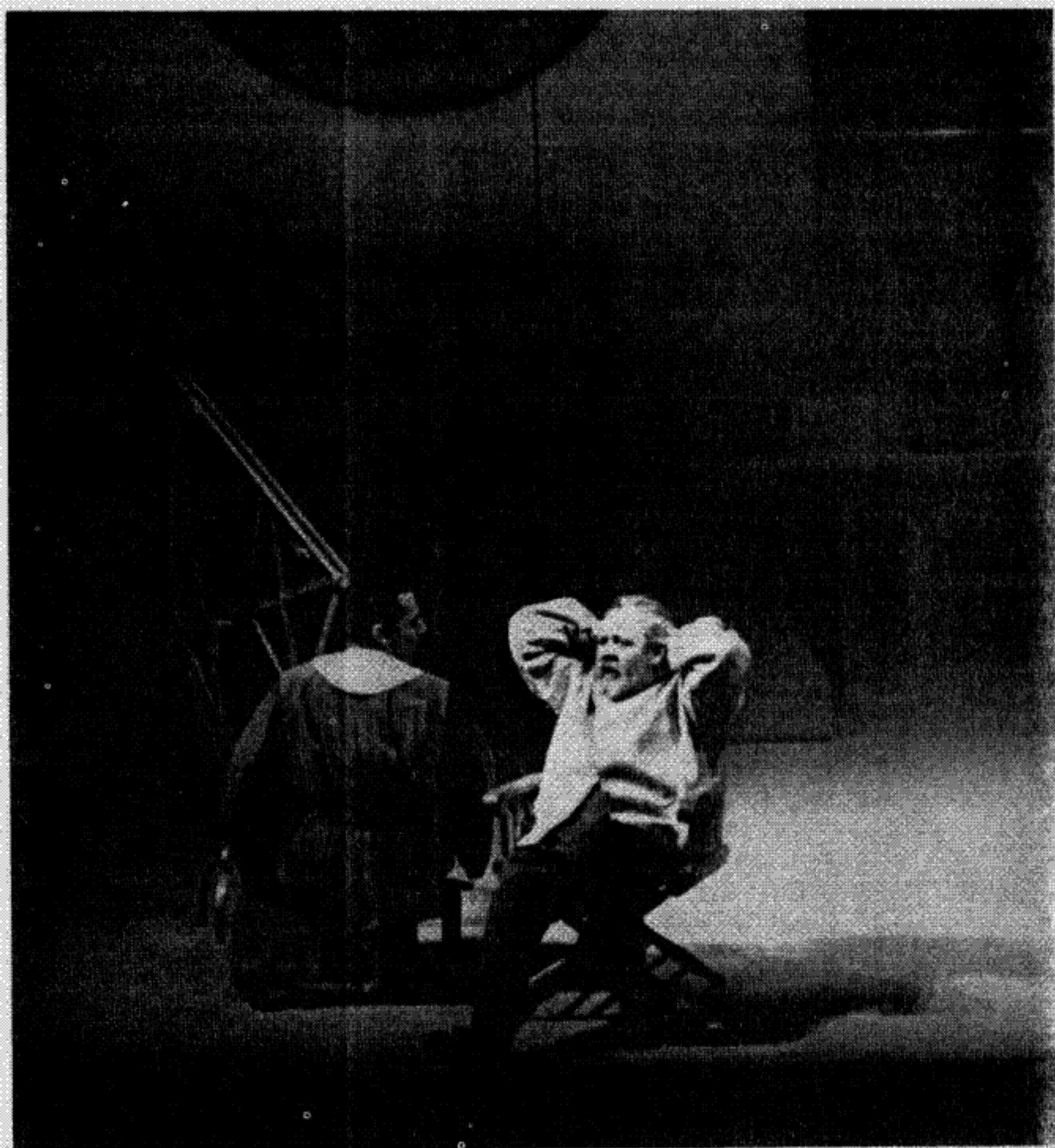
Brecht took his plays out of the dim-lit theatres and into the hard sun of the street. At the same time he hauled the sticky sentiment into the alley. Although he used emotion to drive home his point, Brecht's plays appeal less to emotional reactions than to the spectators' reason.

His actors turn directly to the audience and say — I'll draw you a sketch of the bare facts. I'll describe to you these characters and how they react to the facts. Now you be the jury. We await your verdict.

Brecht believed in realism. The most obvious reality to him was that the play's action took place on the stage. His actors warn their audience not to imagine themselves in London with Mack the Knife. They point to the stage and say — remember, it's just a play. He threw out the hidden subtleties, baring the actual fabric of the play. Stage hands change sets in full view of the audience. Titles of songs and acts are projected on large screens.

"They change the heretic into a saint."

When the actor sings he doesn't somehow drift from talking into singing; he breaks into the play with an interruption — a song. The stage is stark; its colors, grays and browns. All the physical elements necessary to portray the issues are there in careful detail. All unnecessary detail is simply eliminated.



Galileo: "But now we can say: nothing has to remain the way it is. For everything is in motion, my friend."

Although working people who saw his plays praised them, the Establishment usually didn't. On more than one occasion, insulted upper class audiences left in protest during the performance. Nor did the privileged ruling groups of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe look on Brecht without mixed feelings.

Brecht's refusal to conform to the rigid standards of "socialist realism" as laid down by Stalin was a continuing problem. But Brecht's writing could not really be restricted because of his unquestionable stature as an artist. Although he was a strong opponent of any bureaucratic interference in the arts, Brecht made many concessions to that same bureaucracy. His statements in support of Stalin and the East German government were eagerly used against "dissident elements".

Isaac Deutscher, recently-deceased socialist scholar of international ac-

claim and former leader of the Polish Left Opposition, wrote about Brecht's predicament in his book about Leon Trotsky, *The Prophet Outcast*. He wrote of Brecht, "He had been in some sympathy with Trotskyism and was shaken by the purges; but he could not bring himself to break with Stalinism."

Brecht saw no real alternative to Stalinism and, as a serious supporter of the socialist revolution, felt he had to defend the Stalinists, whatever the price. But this line of thinking was against Brecht's own teaching. He urged the workers not to accept the glossy version but to examine everything closely. In his *In Praise of Learning* he demanded:

Add up the reckoning.
It's you who must pay it.
Put your finger on each item,
ask: how did this get here?
You must take over the leadership.

In his later years, Brecht implied that he had been mistaken. As Deutscher says, "He surrendered to it (Stalinism) with a load of doubt on his mind, as the capitulators in Russia had done; and he artistically expressed his and their predicament in *"Galileo Galilei."* Brecht, through Galileo, judges himself and his comrades harshly, saying:

"At that particular time, had one man put up a fight, it could have had wide repercussions . . . I surrendered my knowledge to the powers that be . . . Any man who does what I have done must not be tolerated in the ranks of science."

Although he had tragic weaknesses, Brecht always remained on the same side of the barricades: the side of revolution. His greatest contribution to art was his demand that it enter the sphere of reality and identify with the struggle for socialism.

Opinion

This column will appear periodically in YSF. It is designed to provide a forum for the presentation of diverse views on subjects of interest to radical young Canadians.

- Barrie Zwicker

Our big business "pussycats"

Basically, it is a coincidence that technology is starting to make its impact on education just as business is getting its foot into the schoolhouse door.

The two developments are in harness, but that is as far as it goes. For instance, were North America not a business-dominated society, technology would be the coming thing in education all the same.

You may ask whether, granting my argument, it has any significance. I would say some, because many humanists seem to be misdirecting fears at technology. They say the computer is dehumanizing; they say efficiency in schools would be anti-human; some virtually say that any human is preferable to any machine.

First I ask you to look at technology. In education, this refers to an array of teaching aids and methods: programmed instruction, computer-assisted instruction (CAI), overhead projectors, educational TV, movie and slide projectors and videotape machines, talking typewriters (which are immensely complicated; only a few exist), autotutors, micro-image equipment and much, much more.

Perhaps most feared, I find, is the systems approach, the "relatedness of everything," expensive, tight organiza-

tional way of building fleets of huge complex bombers — or Expo.

There are those who say nix on technology, and their leader is Jacques Ellul. Ellul's leading interpreter in the United States is John Wilkinson of the Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions who writes that an autonomous technology is subverting and suppressing the traditional values of every society to produce at last a monolithic world culture in which all non-technical variety is mere appearance. Ellul himself says that the enemy is not any machine or single technology or group of technologies. It is, rather, technique, the drive to rationalize every human activity, the search for the one best means in every field, or an ensemble of those means. The search for the one best means so dominates every activity that the search itself becomes the end; efficiency becomes the purpose of all activity. Man then serves technique.

I do not find Ellul's point either new or frightening, although I am not sanguine about the billions of ramifications of technological speed-up.

I for one fail to see how Ellul comes to the conclusion that the search for a better means is dehumanizing. Is not the search the highest form of activity? What is the moral alternative to the

search? Are those seeking a path to world peace, for instance, to desist from finding the best and fastest means of getting there?

I think the evidence is overwhelming that technology is profoundly beneficial, particularly as an individualizing force.

No, technology is not even neutral, like fire with which it is often compared. Besides being (in education) intrinsically beneficial in the majority of cases, technology is generally a clarifying agent in moral questions. The new technology of heart transplant, in the case of a colored man's heart going into a white man's body, has clarified as nothing else could, the idiocy of racial prejudice and the oneness of Man. The fact is that the murderous U.S. war machine in Vietnam (for an insight, read military aviation writer Frank Harvey's "Air War-Vietnam") uses computers extensively. The fact is also that computers are marvellous for smoothing the functioning of large hospitals. The two facts side-by-side point an iridescent finger at the real villain: *man's* inhumanity to man. Forget machines. Better still, welcome them, learn about them, use them for just and humanitarian purposes.

Now, business. Let's avoid a de-

monological look. I am as fed up with the glorification of the profit motive as the next guy, but there are shades of grasping within the profit motive. There are other motives woven into the corporate structure. Some firms have refused war contracts . . . well, one that I've been told of.

It seems to me the important thing to do is to try to predict the strategy of the newly-emerging multi-billion-dollar education industries, decide what's humane and what's dangerous in their plans, and decide what to do.

The leading example of an education industry is General Learning Corp., founded in January, 1966. It is a partnership between Time Inc. and General Electric. Time contributed its Silver Burdett Co. textbook publishing subsidiary which does \$60-million business annually. GE contributed \$18,750,000 cash, plus a lot of know-how gained in its internal industrial training programs. The new firm is headed by a bright — and it must be said dedicated — man, Francis Keppel, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, who earlier had risen without a single postgraduate degree to become dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Education, at the age of 32.

Keppel is spending a tremendous amount of time these days defending the profit motive among wary educators. He's really too bright to be maneuvered onto the defensive: he's going forth to sing its praises. Nearly every time I read the transcript of an education conference, Keppel's been speaking. Open an education magazine, Keppel's written an article, banging home the old theme. And not only Keppel; the heads of the other education industries.

This leads me to the conclusion that it is in this vast, largely disorganized field of education, now the mainstay of the public sector in a private enterprise-dominated economy, that one of the crucial struggles between the public good and private profit will be waged.

This struggle involves the Pussycats.

I refer to a group of businessmen, managers, educators and assorted influential figures in Canada who share an interest and concern in education. They are all dissatisfied with the education systems to one degree or another for various reasons.

Among them: Ontario Education Minister William Davis; his executive assistant, Clare Westcott (also a member of the Ryerson Polytechnical Institute Board of Governors); North York Board of Education director Frederick Minkler; Colin Billowes, of Northern Electric Company's research and development laboratories in Ottawa; Dr. R. W. B. Jackson, director of

the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and Dr. L. I. Barber, Dean of Commerce at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. The leading Pussycat and the one who embarrassed the others by banteringly adopting the feline title is the brilliant blind staff sociologist (and all 'round doer) of Air Canada, Donald MacLaren.

MacLaren, 46, has a 14-year-old daughter, lives in Montreal, is difficult to visualize without a tall tumbler of good Scotch at his side and appears indefatigable.

Minkler is an administrator-manipulator, close to Davis. A white-haired slick father figure, Minkler anticipates educational developments (notably data processing) and tries to get them first for North York, whose educational system is as much his handiwork as is possible in the circumstances.

Billowes is a likeable English-born engineer who rolled around the world for a while, working at a variety of jobs before finding electronics-computers-education his cup of tea.

One could imagine Billowes, like Keppel and a surprisingly large number of the new breed, moving easily from the public sector to the private and vice versa.

Davis is the most public Pussycat. Consistent and admired by those who know him for his even keel and willingness to absorb, he accepts the initiatives of the industry crowd, with reservations. Alternating between pipes and cigars (is this symbolic of an academic-industrial ambivalence?) he is perhaps overly influenced by his amazing executive assistant, Westcott.

Westcott is self-made and as energetic as a chipmunk sniffing all the holes around, popping down many to see what's there, and keeping in touch with all the other Pussycats, er, chipmunks.

The thought primarily underpinning his involvement with the Pussycats, if I ascertain right, is that "if all the bleeding hearts who want complete freedom in education have their way, nobody will be prepared for a job by which to support himself and thereby share in the enjoyment of this wonderful free society which allegedly would result."

I could go on with my brief — and I hope fair — thumbnail sketches of the Pussycats. One important point, I think, is that they are individuals and not explicable in simplistic terms.

What can, or more accurately, unfortunately can only, be looked at in broad terms, is the essential nature of the world and the broadly-defined purposes or ends of Man. I submit that only within a worldwide context can we deal with the problems of Canadian, and Toronto, and your and my education and especially those of our

children. And this is where arguments with Pussycats, especially industrial Pussycats, can become meaningful.

For instance, the vortex of industry-government-education melding is the National Security Industrial Association in Washington, D.C. The NSIA is composed of 400 industries which do work for the so-called Defense Department of the United States. The NSIA's main purpose is "to act as a communication agency between industry and the Defense Department."

One of NSIA's projects is ARISTOTLE. Project ARISTOTLE is one of those wretched acronyms which in this case means Annual Review and Information Symposium on the Technology Of Teaching, Learning and Education! A wealthy, tightly-organized project, ARISTOTLE in the final analysis is devoted to the cause of the U.S. war machine. To quote Eugene T. Ferraro, Deputy Undersecretary of the Air Force (Manpower), the Defense Department executive responsible for ARISTOTLE: "The overall significance of ARISTOTLE is that it will be tackling some of the thorny and difficult problems confronting both industry and the federal government as we attempt to apply new teaching technology to DoD education and training." The public good he assumes to be automatically involved. Perhaps that is not quite fair. A distinction between U.S. "fighting forces" and "the nation as a whole" is recognized when Ferraro states, in conclusion (or perhaps in the afterthought category): "At the same time 'guided' spin-off through Project ARISTOTLE will benefit the nation as a whole."

The Pussycats are naturally highly interested in ARISTOTLE as we all should be and several attended the annual symposium in Washington in early December.

I do not fear Project ARISTOTLE or even think it is a bad thing. What I do fear is that a "spin-off" of participation by the Pussycats will be their partial subversion by U.S. corporate military-industrial ideology. One of this ideology's greatest failings is that it positively punishes anyone who asks too many questions. Such as "Why is it important to continue the 'American Way of Life?'" Such as "Is there a point at which the further expansion of business interests is contrary to the public good?"

A thorough investigation of these and many related questions is, in my opinion, mandatory for anyone taking a hand in shaping education. The answers to these questions are needed to create a world situation in which children will live to be educated. And the answers will help educate them how to live, something current and past generations haven't learned.

comment

● THE BATTLE AT WATERLOO.

The struggles for democracy on campus and for freedom from colonial subjugation crossed lines recently at Waterloo Lutheran University when Dr. George Hagggar and postgraduate student Gray Taylor were fired for their radical views. Dr. Hagggar, who teaches in the political science department, and Gray Taylor, who is a psychology lecturer, are both active in the anti-war movement and strong critics of American imperialism. George Hagggar is also an extremely vocal supporter of the Arab revolution in the middle east and is the leading figure in the Canadian Arab community.

Dr. Henry Endress, the university president made no bones about Hagggar's firing: "He is not in agreement with what we stand for, or what we are doing."

The students, however, didn't agree with Endress. They held a mass one-day boycott of the university in protest of the firings.

● **STUDENT POWER PARTY LAUNCHED AT CARLETON.** Radical students at Ottawa's Carleton University launched a campus political party, VOICE, January 18. The party, which involves a wide range of political viewpoints, will enter Carleton's Student Council elections with a program calling for "a thorough democratization of the university structure". VOICE's founding statement lists five

main points on which the party will act, both within and outside of the Student Council structure. They are: 1) Student Control of all ancillary services, such as the Bookstore, the Cafeteria, the Residences, etc; 2) Complete abolition of Administrative secrecy, for full access by students to all information regarding the university; 3) Student representation on all governing bodies, in particular the Board of Governors and the Senate; 4) Student involvement in social action; 5) Full support to the Canadian Union of Students. For more information about VOICE, write to VOICE, c/o Student Council Office, Carleton University, Colonel By Drive, Ottawa.

● **NEW NDY PAPER MAKES DEBUT** — The first issue of *Confrontations*, the newspaper of the Federal NDY, has made its appearance. With a lively format and a heavy emphasis on student struggles for democracy on campus, *Confrontations* is both attractive and relevant.

But how can a left wing newspaper fail to feature Vietnam in its first issue. It is to be hoped that this weakness will be corrected very soon.

A second very important absence was the discussion now being conducted in the pages of the *Alberta Democrat* (official paper of the Alberta NDP). This debate, led on the socialist side by Ken Novakowski, federal president of the NDY, takes up

the question, "Where is the NDP headed?" Participants in the debate are dealing with the most fundamental problems facing the NDP today. *Confrontations* must pick up this debate and carry it to young people across the country. It is this kind of honest discussion, with everything open to analysis, that will forge a program representing the real needs of workers and students in this country.

Confrontations is available from the NDY, 301 Metcalfe St., Ottawa.

● CRUSADING IN VIETNAM.

Sources in the United States report that, as a result of the war in Vietnam, the sale of bullet-proof, stainless steel-covered bibles has increased sharply.

Keep the faith, baby . . .

● THIS IS THE ROAD FORWARD?

— Dr. Herbert Aptheker, the leading intellectual of the U.S. Communist Party (CPUSA), spoke at the University of British Columbia on Jan. 11. When asked which Afro-American leader the CPUSA felt was best he replied that although they disagreed with the pacifism of Martin Luther King and felt that Stokely Carmichael had a contribution to make, they nevertheless supported the leadership of King.

● AYND' CONFRONTATIONS' WITH THE ANDP LEADERSHIP.

Reflecting the international radicalization of youth, the Alberta Young New Democrats are coming into increasing conflict with the conservative labor party leadership. Young Socialist delegates to the December 9-10 AYND convention distributed a leaflet urging delegates to 'keep left' in the face of

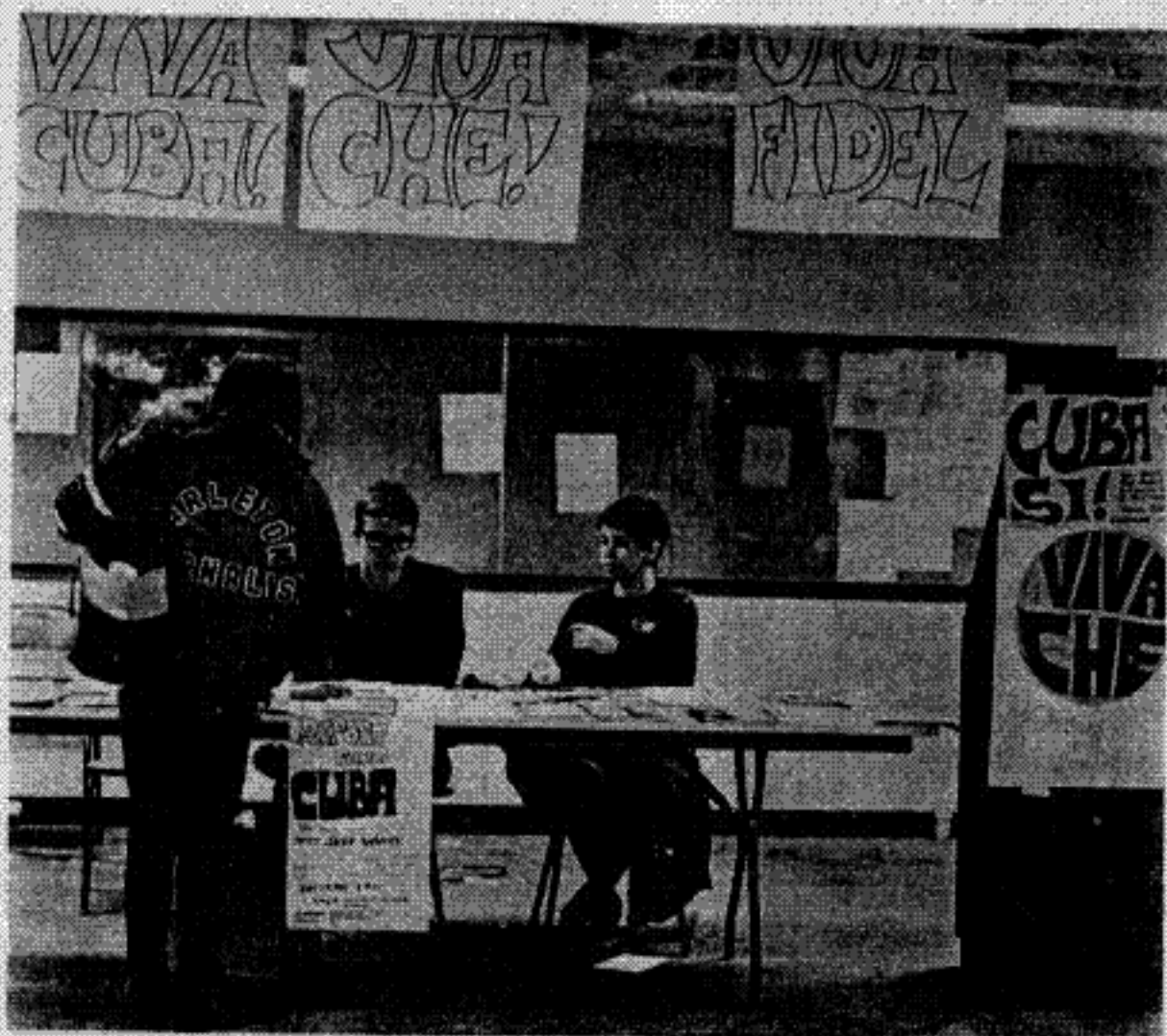


Photo by Morley Roberts, Ottawa

Che lives on in Ottawa. Ian Angus and Brenda Dineen of the Carleton University Young Socialists help popularize Che Guevara and the Cuban revolution on campus.

YSF SUB DRIVE — Now is your chance! The Young Socialists are hitting the streets on February 1 and they are looking for you. All they want is 75 cents for a one year subscription to the new, expanded Young Socialist Forum. Of course we are always interested in your subscription, but right now we want 600 new subs. So why not save us some shoe leather and send in your subscription —today.

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the party's attempts to stack the convention and reverse the leftward direction of the youth movement. A left-wing slate was elected on an action-oriented program and the militant mood of the convention was expressed in resolutions which were adopted calling for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and an end to Canadian complicity, and for a campaign of massive civil disobedience to fight the use of injunctions against striking union picketers. The essential next step for the AYND leadership is to forge their good sentiments into a concrete program and to carry their struggle with the Alberta NDP leadership on a principled political plane which can be understood by the whole party membership.

● JUSTICE—BOURGEOIS STYLE.

Speaking to the Student Assembly to End the War in Vietnam at the University of Toronto, Laurier LaPierre, an NDP vice-president, lambasted capitalist society. He said: "Our society is sick . . . It is the status quo which destroys and it is the status quo which makes us all sick human beings . . . Old men can't adjust to change."

The Montreal Star carried the following example of what Laurier meant — from his own home town. A young mother was suing her landlord after her three-year-old child had fallen to her death from the balcony of their flat because no rails were provided. The learned judge, Justice le Bourgeois (sic), after considering all the relevant facts, dismissed the action. His reason? The child, you see, was "illegitimate" and consequently "did not exist in the eyes of the law."

● GENTLEMEN BE SEATED. Over 100 young people attended a recent Toronto Young Socialists' theatre night. The play, 'Gentlemen Be Seated', by Jan Carew, is a lively and powerful presentation of a chapter in Afro-American history set in the American Civil War. After the play, George Luscombe, producer and director for Toronto Workshop Productions, told the YS theatre audience that he wanted to bring the theatre into the streets and make it more relevant to the common man.

● THE LANCE CLASHES WITH ADMINISTRATION. A bundle of rags bearing a sign "Down with the administration" was burned on the campus of the University of Windsor recently by students protesting interference in their affairs by the administration.

Chanting "Down with tower power," (a reference to the administration building), 150 students protested the

Backtalk

Toronto, Ont.

Jan. 10, 1968

I was impressed by the last issue of your fine paper. The article on Student Power was particularly interesting because it showed the potential of the current wave of student activism. How about including more articles on the high school scene. Your article a few issues ago on the problems faced by high school students is a step in the right direction.

Good luck in the future,

H. R.

forced "resignations" of two editors of the campus paper, the *Lance*, after it had published an allegedly "obscene" article comparing students and Negroes as second-class citizens. The resignations were forced under threat of expulsion. Similar incidents have recently occurred at McGill and at the University of Toronto.

● STUDENT POWER OR TOKENISM? The Student Administrative Council at the University of Toronto rejected token representation of seven seats out of 200 on the Senate of the University and called for the elimination of big business control of the Board of Governors. Tom Faulkner, SAC president, called for an integration of the Senate and the Board, and representation on this new body from the students, faculty and also the "secretaries, and the guys who clean the blackboards."

● THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT NEVER HAD A BETTER CHANCE

The big race is on. Which Liberal gets to be chief warmaker in this country? We think the anti-war movement ought to have something to say about this affair. We have to tell the Liberals that they do not represent us, nor do they represent the 41% of Canadians who think U.S. troops should come home. What we want is an immediate end to all forms of Canadian complicity in this war against Vietnam.

Plans are already under way to protest Liberal Party complicity across the country. Anti-war committees will be demanding answers wherever Liberal leaders appear. Of course, the biggest possibilities occur at the Ottawa Liberal convention, April 4-6, when opponents of the war will have a powerful opportunity to confront the warmakers.

by Harry Kopyto

Sudbury, Ont.
Dec. 12, 1967

Please cancel my subscription to your circular and do not send any more copies pertaining to it. I find your ideas directly conflicting with all principles of a free democracy.

Thank You,

R.P.S.

Philadelphia, Penn., U.S.A.

Jan. 10, 1968

I loved Kate Porter's article in the December issue about male chauvinism in this society. Keep up the good work.

I just wrote to the Young Socialist in New York suggesting the same topic.

Fraternally,

A. L.

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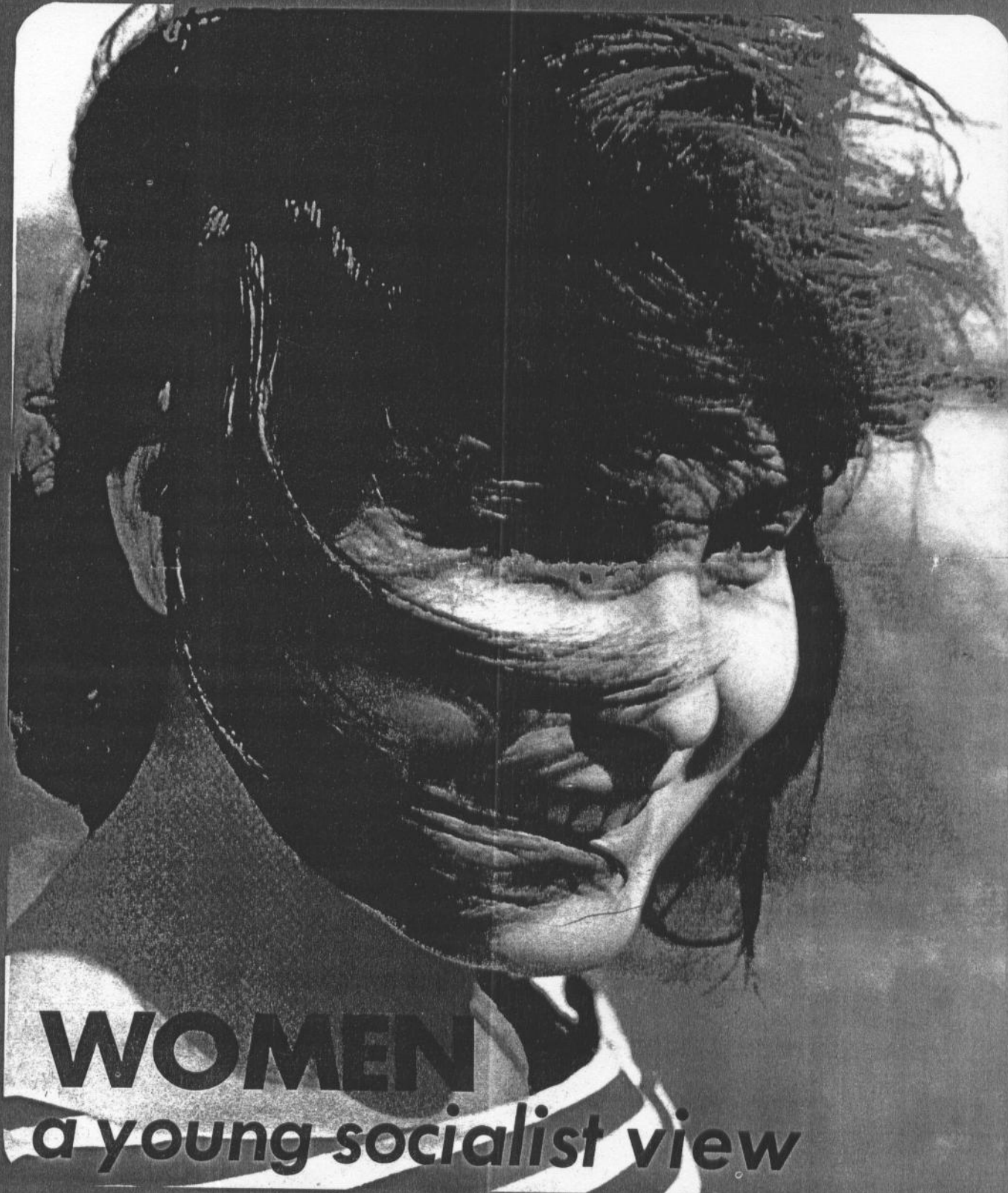


On January 4 - 11 the Cultural Congress of Havana was held. It drew some of the greatest minds of our time, men such as Jean-Paul Sartre who said in an interview with Radio Havana Cuba, "I think that revolution is essentially a cultural phenomenon, to the extent that it makes man the master of his culture. . . . I believe that a socialist society is, of necessity, the instance of profound cultural change". The simple fact that Cuba is the host to such a congress vindicates the revolutionary road. What other country in Latin America has been able to eradicate illiteracy, develop schools for advanced technology and breathe new life into artistic creation? Cuba stands like a giant in the midst of the squalor imposed on the colonial peoples by imperialism. Who can say of Canada what Fidel can say of Cuba, "Our people is today a people of creators."

young socialist forum

May-June 1968

15 cents



WOMEN

a young socialist view

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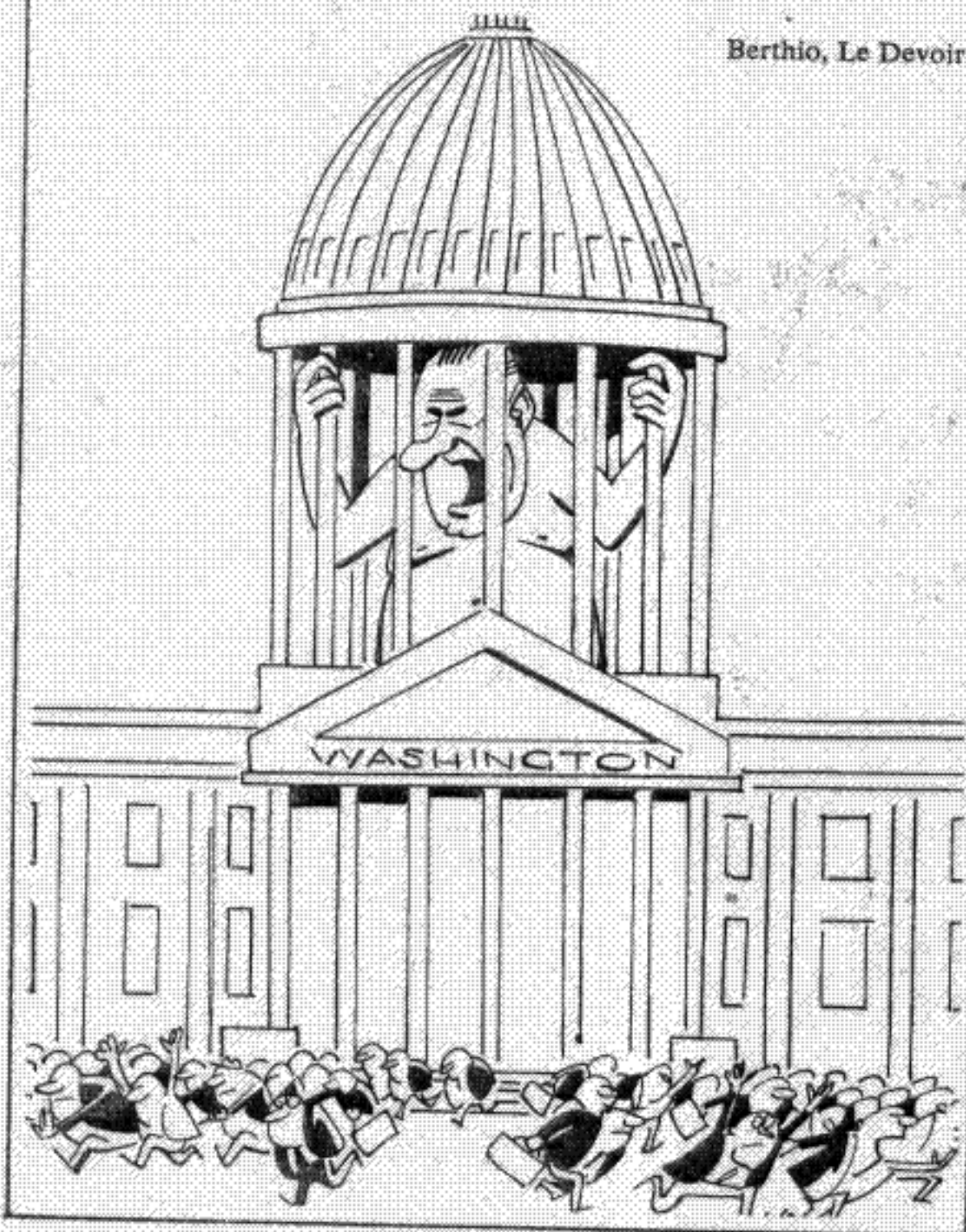
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New NDY Paper

The March/April issue of *Confrontations*, the paper of the New Democratic Youth, is out. It features a front page article on "Worker Militancy" reaffirming the basic antagonism between workers and the system. Feature articles on Guatemala and the stifling character of our universities appear on the inside pages. Aside from a rather silly editorial appearing over the name of William J. Lenihan entitled "Socialism and Socialism", the whole paper is well worth reading.

The regular appearance of an attractive two color paper covering issues of real interest to young Canadians is a welcome addition to the radical youth scene in this country. It is a step long advocated in the pages of *Young Socialist Forum*. Around such a paper, if it receives wide and regular circulation, can develop a real movement of youth interested in building a better society in this country and aligned with the New Democratic Party, the force which can lead in the attainment of a new society.

Hopefully the New Democratic Youth will take full advantage of the possibilities presented to them as a result of their publication of *Confrontations*. The interest which this paper must inevitably create in the ranks of youth should find organized expression in the form of New Democratic Youth clubs. Only in this way can the ideas of the new paper be given life and meaning. Only in this way can its readers turn their ideas into concrete action towards the realization of a new Canada. If the New Democratic Youth takes this next big step — the step of organizing — a mass movement of radical Canadian youth could be built and the radicalization of youth around the world could be given a powerful stimulus in this country.

The Young Socialist/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes stands ready to share its experiences, gained in the successful construction of a cross-country movement of socialist youth.

Every member of the New Democratic Youth, and every individual or group which supports *Confrontations* and its possibilities should obtain bundles and circulate them. Bundles can be obtained from the Federal Office of the New Democratic Youth at 301 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa, Ontario. Bundles are free and therefore easy for anyone to get. Single copies can be obtained from *Young Socialist Forum*.



From

**Human
Being**

to

**Dancing
Doll**

-in 16 short years

In response to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada set up by the government, we of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes have set up our own commission to study the situation of women, and particularly young women, in Canada. The Royal Commission has received 285 briefs from individuals and organizations and is presently holding public hearings in all the major cities across the country. The following is the brief of the YS/LJS prepared by our commission.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

"What do you want to do when you grow up, little girl?" "I want to be an astronaut, like mommy."

An interesting thought, but this is not the way the little girl responds. By the time she is 6 years old she is already aware of her role in society. She knows that few challenging opportunities lie before her, that her role will be a limited one. She wants to be "a lady like mommy."

In the first eighteen years of her life a young girl undergoes a rigorous training program designed to direct her toward a specific social and economic role. All of her pre-school training at the hands of her parents and all of her formal education is designed to



On August 31, 1967, Tania the Guerrilla was killed in the jungles of Bolivia. Tania was an Argentinian, born of German parents who later returned with her to Germany. In 1961 she went to Cuba where she studied and participated in the revolution until she left to fight in Bolivia. Tania is symbolic of revolutionary women around the world and her story lives along with that of Che.

"it begins in the first year of a girl's life"

her and that her wages will be less than a man's. She is trained to accept the myth of feminine inferiority.

Why? Why, in an age when technology could make housework obsolete, is this still a full-time occupation for vast numbers of women? Why is it that women are channelled into a narrow area of human activity and excluded from many areas open to men? Is it that women are somehow inferior? Does woman's "nature" perhaps destine her to play these limited roles and these alone?

Trevor Wigney, of the Ontario College of Education's Department of Educational Research, doesn't seem to think so. He says in his *Education of Women and Girls*:

"It seems obvious that sex roles are often the result of the interpretation placed by society on the nature of the biological differences rather than the direct result of such differences themselves. They (sex roles) are the result of social needs."

As Professor Wigney says, it is social needs — the needs of Canadian

society — that define a woman's role in Canada today.

What kind of society is it that limits women to specific "sex roles"? It is a society run in the interests of profit, not people. It is a society based on an unplanned and chaotic economy, an economy that requires women to play a particular role. Throughout childhood and adolescence society systematically trains women to accept this role through the family, through the educational system and through a thousand myths, customs and social pressures.

The process begins in the first year of a girl's life. For her first Christmas the baby girl receives dolls and frilly clothes. For her second she is given dollhouses, dishes, ironing boards, dolls' clothes and more dolls. Her brother receives rockets with launching pads, mechanical toys, build-it kits, games galore and complete jungle warfare outfits. Girls are trained to imitate their mothers, boys to be creative and aggressive.

Along with the family, the school system is used to maintain the status quo. The petty rules and regulations, the brutal drive for conformity, are not side effects of the educational system. They are the essence of it. The early elementary school grades seem to favor girls more than boys. The six year old girl, already a well-trained mimic and conformist, finds the memorization and rigid rules easier to accept than does her more imaginative brother. The boy who has been rewarded for his creativity by his parents is at first lost in the classroom.

As if it weren't enough for her mother, her teacher, and the television set to define the young girl's role for her, the text books also do it. The worker-father, homemaker-mother, girl-child with her dolls, boy-child in his tree fort are all portrayed in story and picture. She learns about the many great *men* who made history. Throughout the early grades girls excel academically and are praised for their efforts. Then the situation changes. As Trevor Wigney says in *Education of Women and Girls*:

"It also appears that the later years of elementary school and early years of high school see a change in girls' motivation patterns, when society no longer rewards them for academic success but expects them to become more passive and cultivate so-called 'feminine graces'."

By junior high school, a girl who is serious about her studies is labelled an "oddball". Dating is decreed to be

direct her toward marriage and the raising of a family. Her horizons are deliberately narrowed. She is educated to expect that only certain narrowly-defined areas of work will be open to

a girl's prime interest. At the same time as boys are given special encouragement to study, the propaganda machines tell a girl it's social suicide to be smarter than her boy friend. Magazines like *Glamour*, which ran an article last February entitled "How To Be Outspoken Without Paying Too High a Price", instruct the girl on the fine points of her role.

Secondary school girls are consciously streamed away from the maths and sciences into commercial and arts courses, thus preparing them for relatively unskilled, underpaid jobs. They are prepared for their special role in the economy — that of a reserve of labor to be shunted on and off the labor market to meet the economic needs of the moment (as took place during World War II when women were rushed into the work force only to be shoved out again when their services were no longer required.) Girls invariably outnumber boys in the commercial courses, in some provinces by a ratio of ten to one. Home economics is almost solely confined to girls and industrial arts to boys.

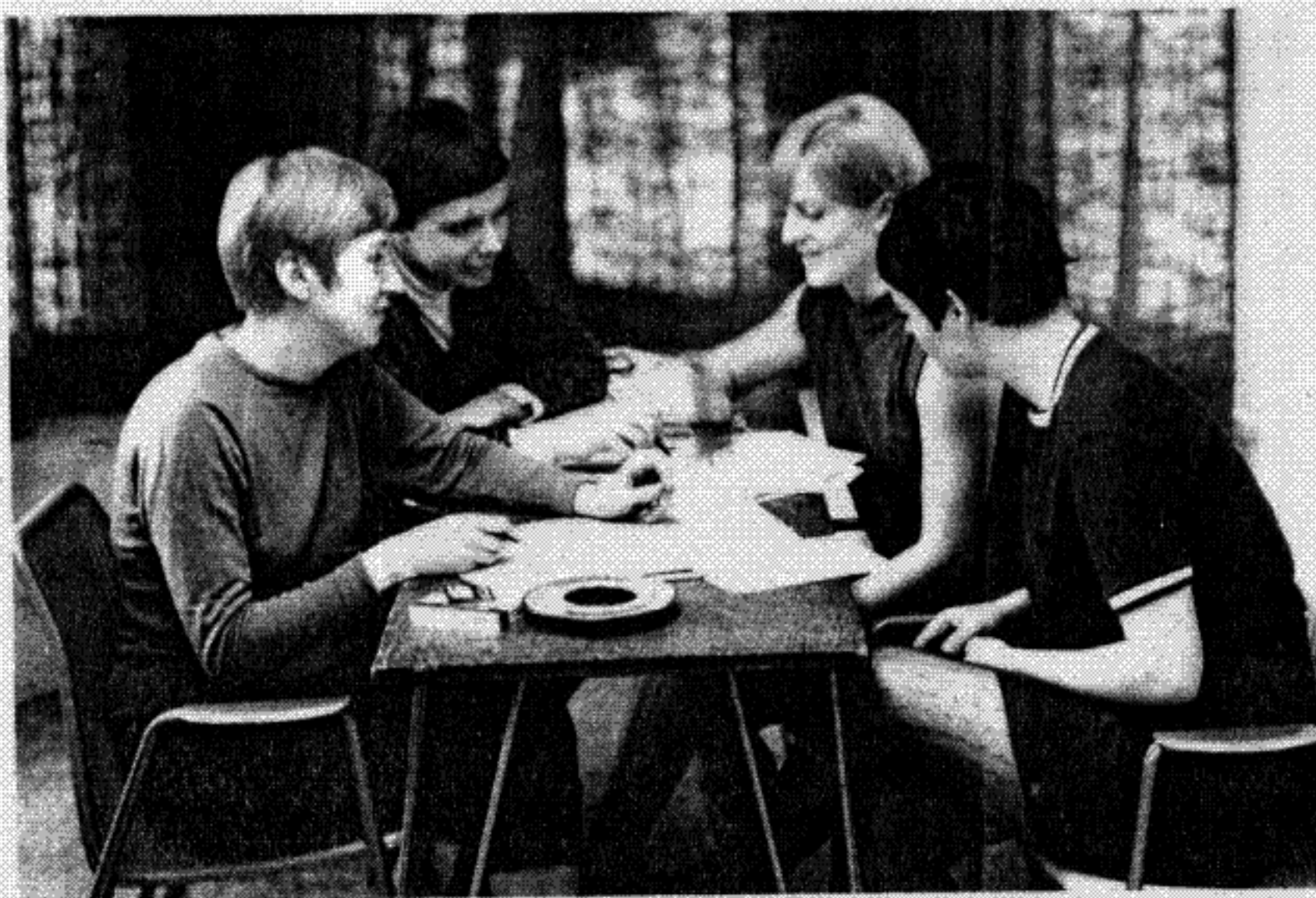
The segregated health and physical education classes teach boys and girls to accept the double standard. If she doesn't know already, the young woman learns in her health class just exactly what society expects of her. Here she learns that she mustn't "go too far" with a boy or she will lose her "most precious asset". This motto of the high school teachers is echoed by every advertisement every television program, everything in society. They all tell her to use her body to

get a man. As the *Toronto Daily Star*, March 30 edition, stated in one article — "YOU'LL RATE AS DATE-BAIT IF YOU TAKE THESE TIPS". Her sex is used to sell everything from Fords to Prime Ministers. Her future, she is told, is in the bedroom and the kitchen. There she'll earn her keep.

These overwhelming social pressures drive teenagers into "forbidden" sexual relationships, while at the same time denying them access to birth control. As a result, 75 to 100 women at University of Toronto, for example, have illegal abortions each year. More than 55,000 teenagers in Canada marry every year, many as a result of unwanted pregnancies. The health courses which provide detailed, diagrammed information about the functioning of the pituitary gland tell the young girl nothing about birth control. To go to a doctor and ask for the pill is a big step in itself, and even then she has no guarantee the doctor will help her. Too often she musters the courage only after her first pregnancy.

The 1961 census showed that slightly more girls than boys were enrolled in school between the ages of five and fourteen. At fifteen the percentage of girls started dropping, until college age, where only half as many women as men enrolled. Even those few women who do go to university are concentrated in the arts courses. Society directs them to university for one purpose — to get a MAN. And since society is training them for this role of marriage and motherhood, why

(Continued on page 12)



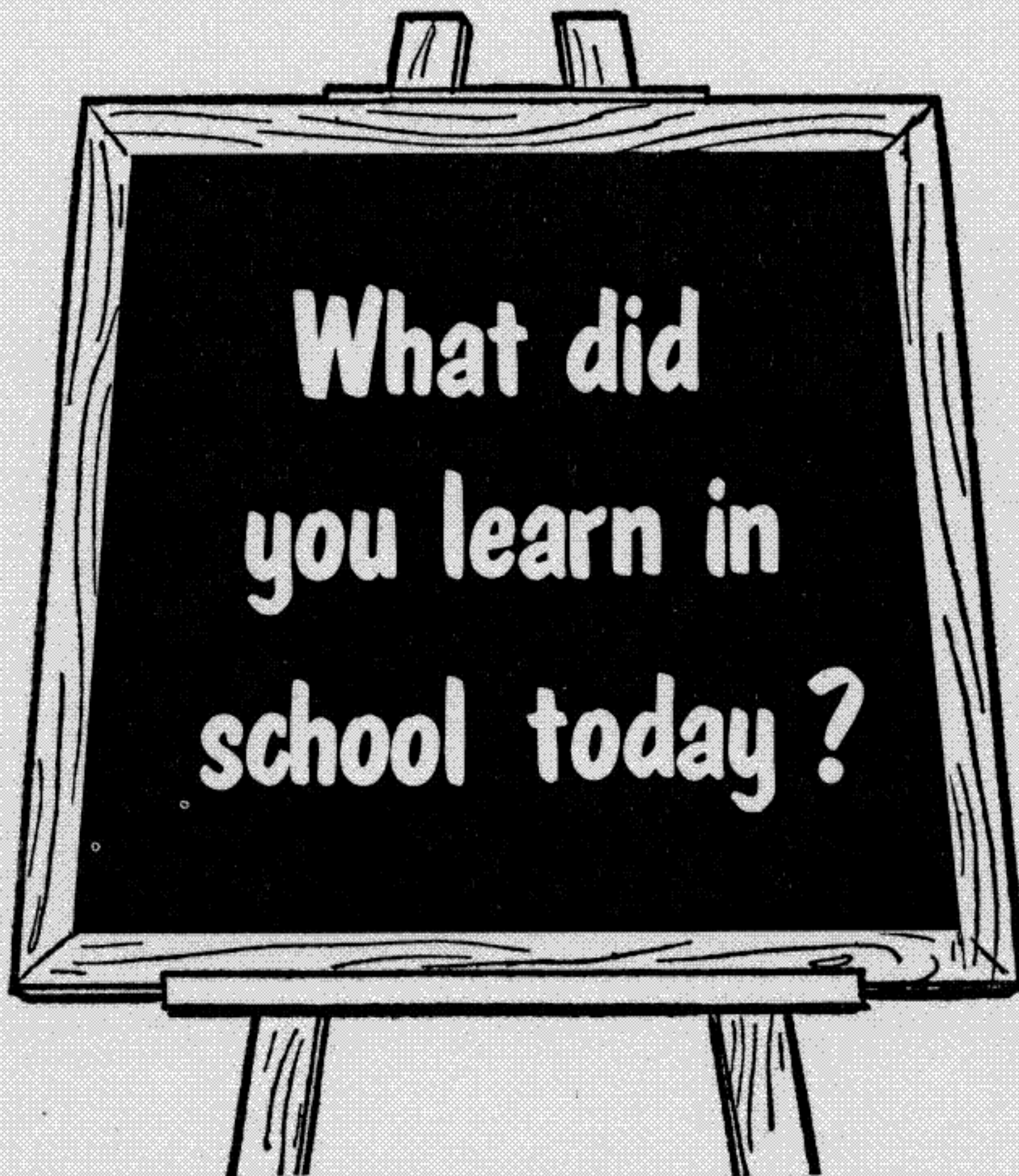
Some members of the YS/LJS commission working on the brief to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women.





Alice Klein is a grade 13 student at Toronto's Harbord Collegiate. She is a member of the Toronto Young Socialists and a founding member of the Harbord New Democratic Youth Club, the first high school NDY club in Toronto. Alice is also active in the high school Students Against the War in Vietnam.

"The Castro revolution was, at first, hailed with enthusiasm in most of the American republics; but it quickly became apparent that he proposed to erect a tyranny of the Left to match Batista's tyranny of the Right. He refused to hold elections; suppressed civil liberties; executed hundreds of war prisoners after trials that were a mockery of justice; plunged the Cuban economy into confusion by hasty and ill-considered reforms; and expropriated American and foreign land, businesses, utilities, and banks. These actions might have been tolerated had he not made clear that he proposed to set up a quasi-Communist state in Cuba, attach himself closely to the Soviet Union, and embark upon a program of subverting other states of



Latin America." This lesson, from *A Pocket History of the United States* is recommended for the grade 13 Ontario history course.

Tyranny?—Where the government, rather than arming itself against the people, arms the people themselves. Ill-considered reforms? — Like the campaign that wiped out illiteracy in Cuba. Yes, these actions might have been tolerated — as the United States tolerates and supports the oppressive regimes of such countries as Guatemala, Bolivia and South Africa. — If the revolution had not "interfered" with the sacred profits of the United Fruit Company. But then, that's not what I learned in school today.

As tomorrow's clock-punchers and taxpayers, we are trained in apathy and obedience. Instead of equality we are taught to assume the superiority of the white civilizations. Instead of analysis we are taught dates. Instead of ideas, fears and prejudices. Instead of truth, half-truths and distortions.

In beige-walled boxes we are taught to accept the status quo — a status quo

where inequality is a way of life and where a small group of men live in luxury relying on the unquestioning labor of their well-trained workers. We have a textbook and a teacher. Their views and biases are for us *the* truth. Yet their authority, their "objectivity", is never to be questioned.

Does the high school curriculum give us an understanding of the world and

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our role in it to help us deal with the problems we will face as "tomorrow's leaders"?

Is there at least some forum in the school, some course where we can analyze the world to enable us to create our future?

There isn't. And what's more the school regulations insure that there won't be. One regulation of the Toronto Board of Education states that "all teachers shall . . . refrain from discussing in schools questions purely political or ecclesiastical or theological". Speaking last fall against Vietnam teach-ins in high schools, Toronto Superintendent of Schools A. L. Milloy said with obvious horror, "This would bring our schools into the political arena."

There is one course, however, that supposedly provides this analysis of the world — history. As the preface to *The Modern Era*, a grade ten history text, explains; ". . . by stating some of the most important of these (problems facing man today), explaining their background and discussing their implications, their (the authors') book will help the student of today and the citizen of tomorrow to inform himself and reach his own conclusions about the many complicated and vital questions which will inevitably confront his generation."

It sounds nice, but is this really done?

In the classroom, history becomes a series of unconnected dates and battles. History is portrayed as great events made by great men. As Bertolt Brecht said in his poem, *A Worker Reads History*:

"The books are filled with the names of kings . . .

Young Alexander conquered India.
He alone?

Caesar beat the Gauls.

Was there not even a cook in his army?"

The history of working people is either ignored or attacked. Workers struggles such as the Winnipeg General Strike are treated as slightly embarrassing, but isolated, incidents. *The Modern Age*, a grade twelve text, describes the first major victory of the French workers against the system which oppressed them: "The episode of the Paris Commune throws a lurid light on the divisions, stupidity, and barbarity which may even mark a great and civilized nation like the French."

Essentially our history course consists of a study of white Anglo-Saxon

cultures. The Toronto Board of Education regulations support this with standing regulations stating, "all teachers shall . . . refrain from expressing anywhere opinions adverse to British institutions or sentiments disloyal to the Crown" and "each principal shall . . . make suitable provision for the weekly recognition of his school of the Union Jack as the symbol of British unity, freedom, and civilization."

We are given the impression that North American history started with Columbus; Chinese history with the Boxer Rebellion; Japanese history with Commodore Perry; South American and African history with the European invaders. We are manipulated into identifying with the white colonialists. We are taught that there are two sides to this cold war football game, and that the yellow, black, red and poor peoples of the world are not on "our" side. In many schools minority nationalities are in the majority and they too are forced to reject their cultures.

Communism, we are told, is just another form of fascism. We may not like the system we live under, but there is no alternative, the history teacher points out.

Whether it's history, English, French, home economics or even physical education there's one thing sure. They're not teaching us how to cope with the world; they're teaching us to accept it. As June Callwood wrote in *Macleans*, January 1967 issue:

"...the nation's schools are wrong, and

"the nation's schools are destructive"

even destructive, for more than 80% of the children in them.....Today's schools fail to educate; their principal effect is to stun."

What we need in the schools is not just a change in this course or that, we need a new curriculum. We need to dump the bias against the working class that runs through all the courses. We need to get rid of the bias against women and the prejudices based on color and race. We want to know the history of the millions of ordinary men and women who built this country, the history of the great social movements they have built — movements like the trade unions and the New Democratic Party.

The truth is that the "educators" of today — at least those who have any real say in the matter — support the system.

We can't change one person here or there. We have to fight for the right to have a say in the courses ourselves. The content of our education must be approved by the students. Only in that way can we be sure that at least some of what they give us will be real education.





U.S. and CANADA:

HANDS OFF VIETNAM!

al of American troops from Vietnam. But our new prime minister had already made clear his support for the American war effort in Vietnam. NDP Vice President Laurier Lapierre spoke at the rally even though he had been warned it would harm his political career. "May God be with my political career," he proclaimed. "I'd rather be here with you today."

High school Students Against the War in Vietnam has called Toronto high school students to join the International Student Strike by demonstrating on the 26th. Inspired by the large high school turn out on April 6 and by the first victory of the anti-war movement in forcing Johnson to "opt out", SAWV has put added effort into mobilizing for these days of protest.

As the editors of Dissent, the publication of the high school group, write: "But the fact that Johnson may soon be no more than a revolting picture in a dusty history book does not mean the war is over. Far from it! . . . But the war is not over and will not be over until the last American soldier comes home. And if we are serious about our opposition to the war, we will continue to demonstrate until this happens."

High school April 26 poster.





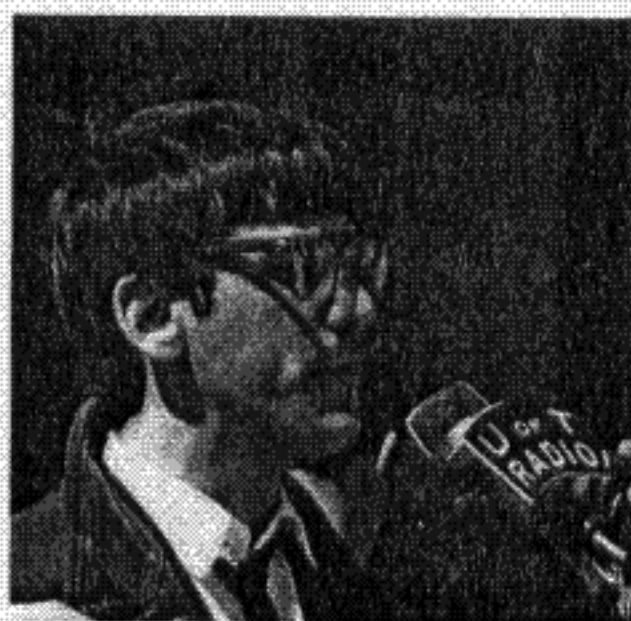
Part of the anti-war demonstration at the Liberal leadership convention in Ottawa, April 6.

As he retires from the presidential race and talks of negotiations, President Johnson sends more troops and steps up the aggression against Vietnam. Some of the bombing is halted temporarily, Johnson talks of peace, and the beat goes on. . . .

The Canadian and world anti-war movement has met American imperialism's attempt to create a new image with the call to "Mobilize, mobilize, mobilize" to force the U.S. to pull out of Vietnam. On April 26-27, the Spring Mobilization Committee urges Canadians to protest the war "with the people of the world."

April 27 is the International Day of Protest, called by the U.S. anti-war movement and April 26 is the International Student Strike against the war. On these dates protests are taking place across the country and around the world.

On April 6, about a thousand demonstrators from Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick dramatically confronted the Liberal leadership convention in Ottawa demanding the next prime minister end the government's support of the war. They demanded an end to Canada's complicity in the American aggression and the immediate withdraw-



Joe Young, of the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam, addresses the rally.



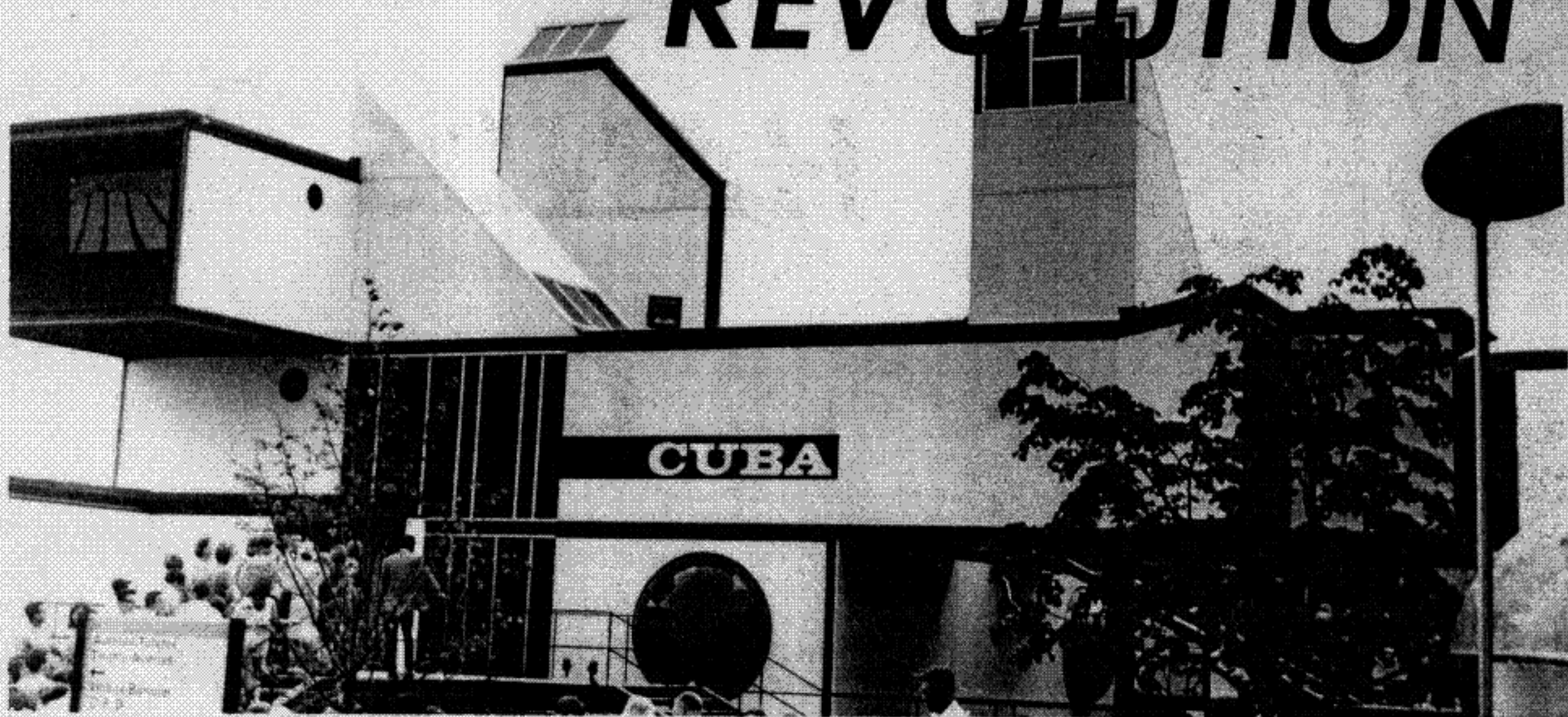
Laurier Lapierre of the NDP addresses the April 6 rally.

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The Artist & REVOLUTION



by Peter Weiss

The following is an abridged speech by Peter Weiss, the full text of which appeared in the September-October 1967 issue of *Tricontinental*, the theoretical organ of the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Peter Weiss is an internationally known dramatist and the author of *Marat/Sade*. Last November, when invited to attend a conference sponsored by the Czechoslovak Union of Writers, he challenged them to discuss the issue of freedom of speech and opinion publicly, of creative freedom and the abandonment of political censorship.

... How can a European intellectual find new means through which to manifest his solidarity with the revolutionary world?

Writing, in itself, can be a very potent activity. It is not only you who write; there are many elsewhere working for the same aims. All of them together make up one extensive universal front. This front is part of the active revolutionary struggle. Much in the same way as the guerrilla fighter uses his gun decisively, the writer ought clearly to define his standpoint. He must not hide anything. It is not enough to send to those who are fighting in the hills some warm words of friendship; you have to show them your militant and political support.

Often the question is raised of what you can attain with a work of art, with a book, a poem, a painting, a play; and you ask yourself the question, if it could ever have the effect of the machine gun in the hills. Often I see the superiority of the guerrilla fighter over an intellectual who is content with voicing his solidarity.

But as the war is fought on many fronts, every front on which you fight the enemy can be a strategic point. There might arise situations which compel you to change your attitude and become directly militant. In many countries this is the only solution.

In Western European countries there is still great value attached to writing. As far as I am concerned, writing has been a process in which I became conscious of myself and of the world I

am living in. By writing I educated myself, by writing I developed my political thinking. By developing myself, I, as a writer, secure the possibility of influencing others.

... As long as the intellectuals make up small elites without direct collaboration with the working masses the result of their work will be limited. Every revolutionary knows a revolution is not won by an elite; a revolution is won by the masses of workers and peasants in the country.

To whom do I address myself in

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"writing can be a very potent activity"

my plays? Is my audience made up of the bourgeoisie rather than proletarians?

Of course, this differs from one case to another, as my plays have been played in both capitalist and socialist countries. In capitalist society, the theater is mostly a form of the bourgeois world, the working class does not regard the theater as its own form of art. They feel alienated in front of the stage. . . . This turns out to be entirely different in socialist countries, where a quite new audience is attending the theater, and where the theater is owned by the populace. Here the theater is duly appreciated, the theater belongs to the populace; it is not an institution which has been built up by a privileged class for the pleasure of the privileged class.

As a dramatist, I have been awarded the possibility of reaching both the population of a classless society, and of a bourgeois society, reaching it by being aggressive with it, by being provocative with it. Of course my goal is to address myself to a conscious audience, an audience which is made up of people who share my political standpoint and who wish to undertake a political analysis of their times, the times they are living in.

I do not know how it is for other writers. There are good plays which should be comprehensible for all societies, for everybody. But I am sure I would write in a different way if I lived in a socialist society, and I mean through and through a socialist society, where there would be no need to criticize society, where my writing would be part of a common constructive work, where I should deal with the problems and conflicts underlying a new attitude toward life.

The plays I have written until now are the result of my milieu, the result of the world in which I have grown up.

. . . To start with, you have to secure a great deal of knowledge and insight, and never lose sight of the historical aspects of the situation, and, also, never lose yourself in emotional reflections. Historically seen, socialism is going through a natural development. It is demonstrating that it is

a force very much alive. It would not be alive if it had become stagnant within one closed bloc. The fact that it is open and developing many different aspects — even aspects which are in strong conflict with one another — makes it dynamic, dynamic in a Marxist sense.

Cuba, Viet-Nam, and North Korea have already established a norm on present-day revolutionary socialism, which expounds a new viewpoint in the socialist world. In Cuba and Viet-Nam, no doubt, Marxism means Humanism. In these countries, Marxism is always subject to development, always subject to internal discussion, never afraid of criticizing itself, and never afraid even of criticizing the other socialist countries. I think this shows an enormous strength, as these countries are fighting in the front line against the threat of imperialism.

. . . Being in Cuba teaches me every day, every hour almost, the danger

facing the country. Being on an island which is surrounded, blockaded by the enemy, I get to know what it means to live and to work confronted with the enemy, to construct, to build and not to give way to the ominous threat of destruction. This is an experience of strength and courage which I have never had in Europe. In the midst of the political struggles going on in Europe, you are more safe, you can withdraw, you can hide yourself; but here you are absolutely in the open, you can be attacked any minute; everything which is built here is constantly threatened with destruction by the enemy, because the enemy has no aim other than to destroy; he must destroy the revolution in order to keep alive his atavistic, brutal and reactionary values. This you feel strongly, and this makes your own point of view clearer; it forces you to be still more consequent (consistent) in your own backyard.



In *Marat/Sade* the inmates of the asylum of Charenton perform a play for the new French aristocracy. Here Marat lectures on the course of the French revolution. The other inmates respond with, "We want our rights, and we don't care how. We want our revolution NOW!"

(Continued from page 5)

should it pay attention to educating them? It shouldn't, concludes Jack McArthur, financial expert for the *Toronto Daily Star*, who represented a powerful trend when he wrote in his January 30th column:

"If this valuable commodity (education) must be used to best advantage, how do female students rate? Obviously, low. Having received a university education, partly or largely paid for by the state, they are far more likely to fail to use it. Can the state regard this as fair, when it may have kept an almost as talented male out of university in order to educate the family? No, it is not fair. Possibly, then, the state may depart from the policy of complete equality to give at least some marginal preference to males."

University of Toronto, the key university in training the leaders of Ca-

nadian business, contains many crude examples of discrimination against women. Hart House, to which all U of T male students belong, only allows women into its hallowed halls after 2:00 p.m. — and even then they must be outnumbered by the men! Massey College, U of T's elite college for graduate students, also excludes women. University of Toronto Schools is an elite private school for boys, financed by U of T through public funds.

This whole process, from her mother's knee to the university, systematically molds the woman to accept what has been described as second class citizenship. With all the propaganda and prejudices of society directed against her, it is no wonder that woman, despite the many gains she has made, is unable to take advantage of the opportunities that are theoretically open to her. Betty Friedan in her *Feminine Mystique* makes an analogy with the women of China:

"... But what would have happen-

ed if, before a single generation of Chinese girls had grown up with unbound feet, doctors, hoping to save them from pain and distress, told them to bind their feet again? And teachers told them that walking with bound feet was feminine, the only way a woman could walk if she wanted her man to love her? And scholars told them they would be better mothers if they could not walk too far away from their children? And peddlers, discovering that women who could not walk bought more trinkets, spread fables of the dangers of running and the bliss of being bound? Would many little Chinese girls then grow up wanting to have their feet securely bound, never tempted to run or walk?"

Yes, just as many little Canadian girls grow up accepting their exclusion from whole areas of human activity. Girls are born with the same basic capacities to cope with the world as boys. It is only after they are born that society binds their feet and minds.

Contact the YS/LJS in your area!



MONTREAL:

Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 17 Ontario St. W., Montreal 18

McGill Univ. Young Socialists, c/o Brenda Zannis, 277-1285

Sir George Williams Univ. Young Socialists, c/o Judy Koch, 331-5853

OTTAWA:

Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 238 Arlington 234-3130

Carleton Young Socialists Club, c/o Ian Angus, 235-2141

TORONTO:

Young Socialists, 32 Cecil St., 921-4627

Univ. of Toronto Young Socialists, c/o Gord Doctorow, 638-3674

York U. Young Socialists, c/o Diane Mossman, 927-7132.

Ryerson Polytechnical Institute Young Socialists, c/o Ken Wolfson, 249-3449

SASKATOON:

c/o Karen Kopperud, 303-5th Ave., Apt. 2

EDMONTON:

Young Socialists, Rm. 1, 11129-89 Ave., 433-8791

VANCOUVER:

Young Socialists, 511 Carrall St., 682-9332

Univ. of B.C. Young Socialists, c/o Ken Hiebert, AMS, UBC, Van. 8

Simon Fraser Univ. Young Socialists, c/o Brian Sloccock, c/o Student Soc., SFU, BBY 2

Vancouver City College, c/o Sue Claus, 876-1989

JOIN NOW!

Name

Address

City Prov. Phone

write 32 Cecil Street Toronto 2B, Ontario

It is class society, the same society that rests on the oppression of all workers and the double oppression of racial minorities, it is this society that relegates women to their role as inferior beings.

Discrimination against women is not a mere surface aspect of life in Canada. From birth, formal training and social pressures from every conceivable source direct women toward their proper "feminine" role. The roots of this discrimination lie not in "human nature" but in the foundations of the capitalist economy. As we have seen, women form a reserve of cheap labor to be moved on and off the labor market according to the needs of the economy and as such they represent a constant threat to the wage gains of all workers. Women are the main stabilizing force in the family, which plays a major role in molding children to fit the requirements of a profit-motivated society. A reform in one or two aspects of this society would improve the status of women, but could never bring full equality. As long as Canada is owned by a small minority and run for their profit against the interests of the vast majority, there can be no equality — for men or women. The Canadian economy must be publicly owned and planned in the interests of the working people.

Toward this end, the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes call on the government of Canada to free women from the sole responsibility for child care, so that they may participate in other activities as they wish. We see child-rearing as the most important responsibility of our society, and think that society should provide the child with all it has to offer, regardless of the parents' resources. We call for an extension of the school system to include a far-reaching system of day care centres available free of charge for all working and studying mothers.

We demand Student Power — an end to big business control of the educational system. Unlike big business, students have nothing to gain from the oppression of women.

All grants, fellowships, and scholarships must be without sex restrictions. School fees must be abolished and living allowances paid to students so that education is available to the children of the working class. This is especially important to women since it is often they who must work in order to pay for the education of their brothers and husbands.

All schools and classes must be co-educational. All school residences should be co-educational and available free of cost. All subjects must be open to both sexes with special encouragement given to women in those fields from which they have traditionally been excluded. The textbooks must be rewritten to eliminate both overt and subtle discrimination against women. Women must be written back into history! Students should learn of the inspiring role of women in primitive society, the role of pioneer women in Canada, and the brave women who won the basic legal rights for their sex.

We call for a replacement of home economics and industrial arts courses by a compulsory general living course so that we don't train cooks who can't change a fuse, and carpenters who can't fry an egg.

We believe that the right to control her own body, to choose when she wants to bear children, is a basic right of all women, regardless of age. We demand free birth control information and devices be available for all girls and women of child-bearing age. Free abortions should be legal and available upon request. Co-educational sex education must be part of every curriculum and begin in the early grades.

"we demand free birth control"

Women must have equal opportunity to work in any field with no pay differentials or other discrimination.

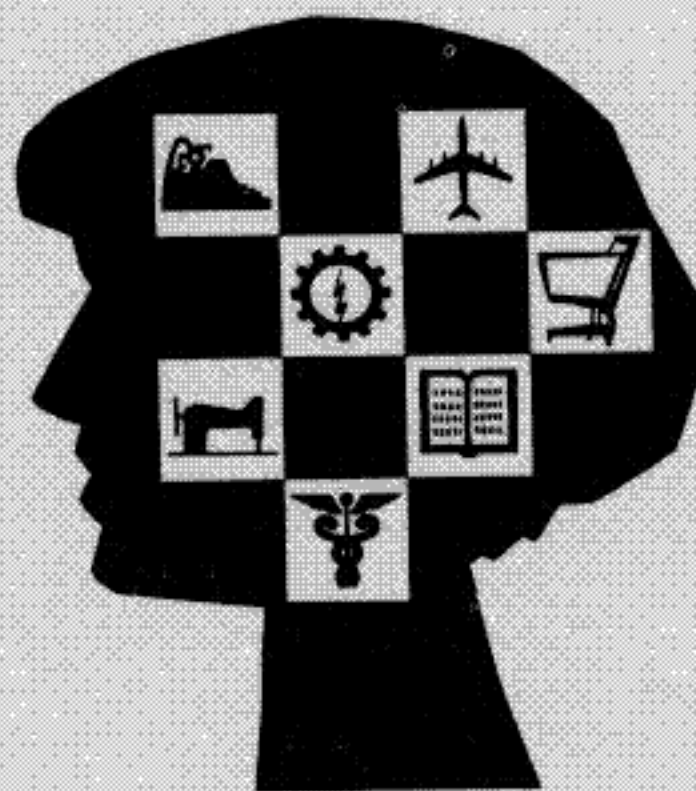
The implementation of these demands would not solve the whole problem of women's inferior status, but it would be an important advance toward a society where men and women can freely develop their capacities as human beings, a society in which there would be no basis for discrimination of sex, colour, age or class. It would mark a big step towards the establishment of a society in which the economy is planned to meet human needs, not a society where human needs are warped to serve the interests of profit — a big step towards socialism.

The Status of Women in Canada

brief submitted to the
Royal Commission by
the League for Socialist
Action/Ligue Socialiste
Ouvriere

April 1968

Available in the April 29 issue
of the Workers Vanguard



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10c a copy, \$2 a year (24 issues)
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Feedback

This column is reserved for the opinions of our readers. Letters should be kept brief. Where necessary they will be abridged.

Ottawa, Ont.
March 24, 1968

I just got my copy of the latest YSF. It's tremendous. For the sake of all youth in Canada, keep up the good work!

The article on the Soviet Writers by Brian Slocock was really well-written. I think it's one of the first times YSF has tried something like that since the article on the Hungarian Revolution by Jacquie Henderson. The Soviet Writers' trial is not only more current and in peoples' minds but the whole article was quite positive.

The YSF sub drive box was, as usual, funny. This time I think you did it unknowingly. After the question, "Why don't you buy him (your friend) a sub to YSF?", you say: "If you don't already have one yourself, be sure to get one right away.)" Am I supposed to get a *friend* or a *sub*? I thought it was funny. Maybe I don't read the same way as normal people do.

The book review was good. Why not have book reviews a semi-regular thing and have them much shorter? Book reviews, drama, film and cultural reviews can be light, attractive and even funny. I'd like to see another article on the woman question, preferably something on the Royal Commission on Women.

That's all I can think of for now.

Warmest greetings,
Brenda Dineen

Toronto, Ont.
April, 1968

Please enroll me for six issues of your magazine. Also included in my cheque is \$1.00 for a copy of "An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory" if available.

Also I would like to order any information available on the aims of Che Guevara, a poster of him and a Viva Che button. I didn't know the price of these so please bill me. I be-

lieve I have been looking for your magazine for a long time. It's good to know someone cares about the future of our dying country.

Thank you,
J. R. W.

London, Eng.
March 29, 1968

First of all, congratulations on the new BIG Young Socialist Forum — I must say it is a big improvement and it sure is nice to see all those pictures of Canadian revolutionaries!!

Secondly, I would like to place an order for 50 Viva Che buttons. I do hope you still have some and if you can't meet 50 then do what you can.

Well that is all for now. Keep up the good work.

All the best,
Jess Mackenzie

Vancouver, B.C.
April 4, 1968

I am quite enthusiastic about the latest issue of YSF. The cover, which showed people doing things, was much more attractive than the cover on the previous issue, which, although bright, suggested little in the way of activity.

I thought the conclusion of the review of Mandel's pamphlet made rather exaggerated claims on behalf of the NDP. I much preferred the way the article by Gary Porter presented the NDP in the previous issue.

Yours truly,
Ken Hiebert



YSF SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

The YSF subscription drive is now completed and has been an overwhelming success. Here is the final tally:

SUB DRIVE SCOREBOARD

	Quotas	to March 31/68	Final percentage
Vancouver	125	76	61%
Edmonton	35	44	126%
Saskatchewan	25	8	35%
Manitoba	—	8	**
Toronto	225	248	110%
Ottawa	75	82	109%
Montreal	50	63	126%
Maritimes	10	1	10%
General	40	83	208%
Total	585	613	105%

One of the most encouraging features of this very successful drive is that we were able to place bundles of YSF in several bookstores in Toronto, Edmonton, Montreal, and Ottawa. If we're not in *your* favourite bookstore, why not ask the manager if he'll take a bundle, and then let us know. And if you missed the sub drive, it's still not too late to get *your* sub.

YOUNG SOCIALIST FORUM

32 Cecil Street,
Toronto 2B, Ont.

. . . 75c for six issues . . . \$1.50 for twelve

Name

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City Prov. Phone

A demonstration of 20,000 youth in Berlin Feb. 18 in support of the Vietnamese revolution. Marchers carried photos of Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh, as well as Rosa Luxemburg (left) and Karl Liebknecht (right), leaders of the German revolution of 1918.



Solidarity with Rudi Dutschke!

On April 11, Rudi Dutschke, leader of the German Socialist Student Federation (SDS), was shot. Dutschke is prominently associated with the large and militant demonstrations of German students against the war in Vietnam. He has also helped organize demonstrations against the mass production of "specialized idiots" by universities and in favor of Student Power. His would-be assassin said he was inspired by the assassination of Martin Luther King.

The students responded to this act of terror by stating that they saw it not as an act of an isolated "kook" but that of a society which creates an atmosphere of open season on radical students. Thousands of students throughout Germany demonstrated continuously for days following the shooting. Their demonstrations were primarily directed against the Springer press monopoly which has whipped up a campaign against the students with banner headlines declaring: STOP DUTSCHKE'S RED TERROR!

The growing radicalization of students around the world — a radicalization which Dutschke symbolizes — will only increase in the face of such reactionary persecution. Students throughout Europe, England, Asia and North America responded to the shooting with demonstrations of indignation. In Canada, the YS/LJS sent messages of solidarity to SDS, and the anti-war Spring Mobilization Committee held a demonstration in Toronto, declaring the act an attack on the international anti-war movement.



Rudi Dutschke (in plaid shirt) at February 17 Vietnam anti-war conference in Berlin.

Mary Alice Waters, National Secretary of the American Young Socialist Alliance, interviewed Rudi Dutschke last February. The interview took place at Rudi's home in Berlin after a conference of 20,000 youth against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. She says of Rudi;

"His political evolution in recent months has been quite striking, moving from a position reflecting Herbert Marcuse's disdain for the working class as a force for social change to a more Marxist understanding of the class nature of society and the necessity of fighting for a socialist transformation of the capitalist countries."

Long live Rudi Dutschke!

CAMPAIGN FOR AN NDP GOV'T



Kick out the big business parties
End Canada's complicity in
the U.S. war on Vietnam
Free education at all levels

For a workers government

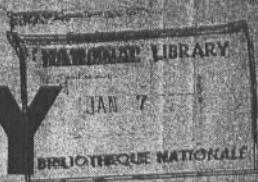
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JUNE 25 VOTE NDP

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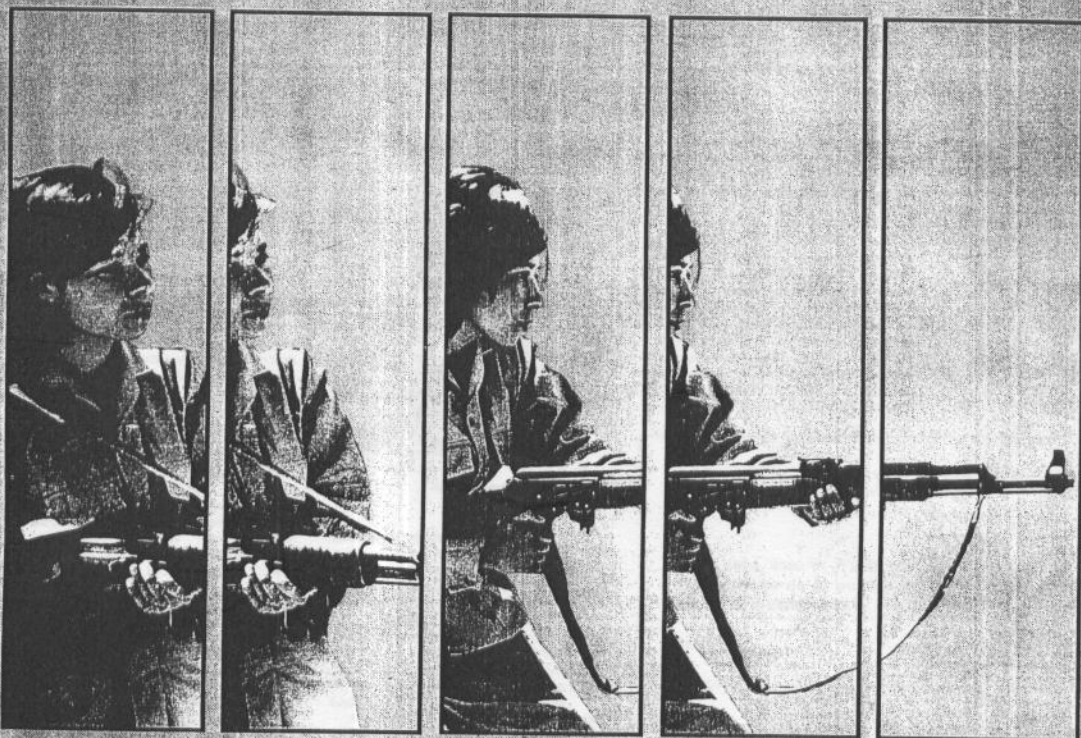
- vocational high schools-
you need a permit to breathe
- Canadian independence and
the fight for socialism

REVOLUTION UNTIL VICTORY



ثورة حتى النصر دافعوا عن الثورة العربية

DEFEND THE ARAB REVOLUTION



"If high schools are jails technical schools are maximum security prisons."

by Ken Wolfson

If high schools are jails then the technical and vocational schools are the maximum security prisons. These are areas of confinement for young people who can not "fit in" to the academic schools so they are kept segregated, controlled, trained to a certain extent, then pushed into the world.

In these technical and vocational schools rules are enforced for the pettiest of things — in Toronto's Castle Frank Vocational School only button down collars are allowed, and of course no cowboy boots or blue jeans, and hair lengths are regulated. Infractions of the rules usually mean a three day suspension. These rules led to a student walk-out at Castle Frank last year.

In Danforth Technical School, the no smoking rule is carried to such an extent that anyone found with cigarettes or matches is punished.

The prison atmosphere in Castle Frank is so great that there is a narcotics inspection every day, lockers are opened and everything is placed on the floor along with everything in a student's pockets. The principal and two policemen check everything. A student found with drugs is expelled and arrested.

Everything is regulated, one student from Castle Frank explained, "You have to have permits everytime you're out of the class. Washroom permits, locker per-

mits, admit slips. If you fail a year — out you go. Why? Because you're giving the school a bad name."

Once a student is in one of these schools, he can't transfer into another course and can rarely even transfer to another school. Students have little choice about the course or school they are in.

In Toronto, students are streamed into the various courses — business and commerce, arts and science, technical or vocational at the end of grade eight. It is the teachers, principals and Board of Education who decide the students' stream. In fact, until this year all students with IQ's between 50 and 80 were automatically streamed into vocational schools, even though there is ample evidence of the fallibility and class bias of such testings.

These technical schools were given a priority in the educational system about the time Western capitalism realized the gains made by the Soviet Union when Sputnik was launched. But there is another purpose to them. Business needed individuals with a limited degree of skills. Thus, schools were established to train young people directly for occupations — with the entire course aimed at the occupation.

One Toronto Board of Education report states: "Vocational schools need no defense. The changed attitudes and successful placement of girls in industry have been ample proof of their effectiveness in



Ontario high school students demonstrate against the arbitrary lengthening of the school year.

our society." And what types of jobs are these girls trained for? The report continues by listing: junior office work, factory work, sales girls, cashiers, usherettes and hairdressers. The girls are taught household science, factory work and secretarial skills.

The educational system serves still another purpose. They take working class youth and immigrant youth and stream them into job-training courses, effectively deciding at the age of 13, who will get a university education. The children of immigrants are usually streamed away from academic courses and thus of an Italian population of 300,000 in Toronto, only 500 are in university.

In elementary school, immigrant children are not taught in their native language, but placed into the lower grades and kept there until they learn English. They are held back by this form of discrimination.

In such an 'educational' system, it is no wonder that the students feel they are at

war with the teachers, they see the teachers as an enemy controlling them and not caring about them. The dress regulations, strict enforcement of punctuality in the schools, are also forms of training for the job.

But even this job training is no good. Equipment, techniques and teachers are all out of date, and thus, a report suggests that more training should take place in factories.

The feeling that nobody cares for the student is borne out by what happened at Castle Frank. Last year, a student died in the school pool because of a short in the electrical system. A warning system was installed, but as a student said, "A kid jumped in and got a shock. The police checked it out and found the warning system was disconnected."

Why do students remain in such a school?

"It's a dictatorship," a student said, "but I want to get a trade so I can get a job."

BUGGING THE BOURGEOISIE

Ottawa

The first socialist mayoralty election campaign in Ottawa's history, conducted by the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action, has ended with candidate David Porter polling 2,340 votes, 3.3 percent of the total. He came fourth in a field of five candidates. The strongest support, up to 4.8 percent, came from the downtown wards where there is a severe housing crisis.

Despite the recent formation of the League for Socialist Action the campaign gathered significant support especially among the youth. The city "underground" newspaper *Octopus* supported Porter, as did the *Carleton* University newspaper, *The Carleton*. Twenty students from St. Patrick's College organized a door-to-door campaign in an area faced with expropriation. Porter talked to over 2,000 persons, appeared on a dozen radio and television programs, and received extensive newspaper coverage.

Toronto

The Young Socialist League for Socialist Action municipal election campaign resulted in 2,400 votes, 1.5 per cent, for John Riddell, socialist mayoralty candidate. Although modest, the vote was concentrated mainly in student and working-class areas, where the NDP vote was also strong. The Y.S. Board of Education candidates polled up to 8.3 percent, repre-

senting about 15 percent of those voting as each voter has two votes.

The campaign served not only to spread socialist ideas, but also resulted in a growth of Toronto Young Socialists.



photo by White

John Riddell

Ontario Education Weekend

The *Coming Canadian Revolution* was the theme of the Ontario-wide Socialist Weekend Seminar sponsored by the Young Socialists and League for Socialist Action held January 3-4 at the University of Toronto. Robin Mathews, co-author, of the *Struggle for Canadian Universities*, and Ross Dowson, Executive Secretary of the L.S.A., debated on a strategy to counter U.S. domination of Canada.

A highlight of the weekend was a panel discussion with prominent NDPers, Karl Jaffary, alderman Ward 3, Marc Llanos and John Chamard as well as Dick Fidler, on the Socialist challenge in the New Democratic Party. Colleen Levis spoke on the Women's Liberation struggle — John

Riddell, Toronto mayoralty candidate led a discussion on the *Coming Canadian Revolution*. Discussion and seminar groups were held between the sessions.

Fund drive

As of December 15, the fall Y.S. fund drive raised \$6,900 of its \$7,800 goal. More funds are yet to be collected. The money will be used to continue and expand the bi-national activities of the Y.S.-L.J.S.

Tours:

Following the two successful cross-Canada Young Socialist fall tours, two more tours have been scheduled on the topics *Zionism and the Arab Revolution* and *The National Struggle in Quebec*.

Harry Kopyto, a University of Toronto law student, will speak on the Arab revolution. Harry lived in Israel, was a member of *Hashomer Hatzair* and opposes Zionism. He will tour across Canada from

January 6 to January 20.

A leading member of the *Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes* will speak on the national struggle in Quebec from January 6 until January 20.



Harry Kopyto

What's happening in Quebec?

Pour vous assurer d'une réception régulière de Jeune Garde, assurez-vous de la publication du prochain numéro: Abonnez-vous dès maintenant! \$1.00 (10 numéros).

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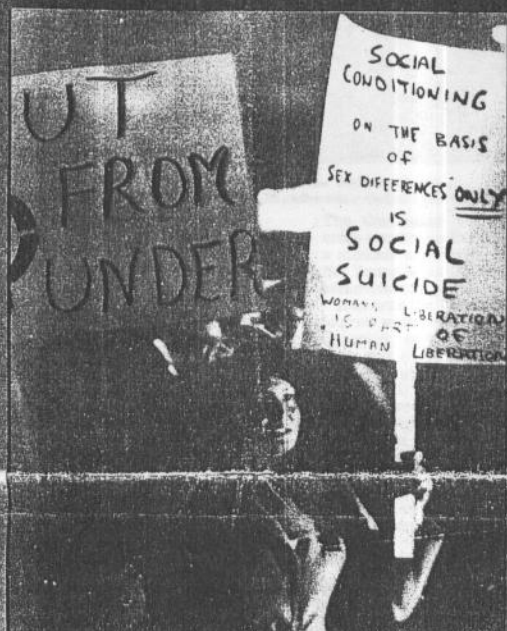
Vietnam tour

The Toronto-based Vietnam Mobilization Committee is conducting a film and speaking tour across Canada. The documentary film, "In the Year of the Pig," and VMC executive secretary George Addison, will tour from January 1 to January 24.

The film which has been acclaimed as the best documentary film on Vietnam will be shown in theaters and halls across the country.

young socialist forum

february 1970 15¢



women's liberation protests 'Miss University' sexploitation



10 years of the Young Socialists

building a socialist youth movement



Joe Young, former Executive Secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee and current Toronto organizer of the YS/ LJS addresses a student rally against the war.

By Jacque Henderson

Ten years ago, on January 30, 1960, seven students and young workers met in a cramped apartment in Toronto's east end to found a revolutionary socialist youth organization. Their group has now developed into the Young Socialists Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, largest organization of Canadian socialist youth. What brought these pioneers together, and set their group on the road to such growth.

1960 — there was no campus revolt. Universities and high schools still lay under the deadening apathy and conservatism of the '50's. But the founders of the "Young Socialist Alliance" in Toronto in 1960, and their comrades in Vancouver who joined them shortly, came together in response to the inspiration of two great political events that showed them the challenge of the '60's.

The Cuban revolution was rapidly heading for its showdown with U.S. imperialism, and the establishment of a workers state in this hemisphere. The Young Socialists saw their first task as defending the America's first socialist revolution against the campaign of slander and hysteria of the U.S. state department and its Canadian flunkies.

Meanwhile Canadian workers were moving towards the formation of their own political party, the New Democratic Party. The Young Socialists were active in its formation — their first meeting centered its discussions on a conference of youth supporters of the "new party" called for the next week. They aimed to bring the message of Cuba — the necessity of socialist solution to the gathering world crisis — to the militants of Canada's new labor party.

Later the Young Socialists rapidly responded to the greatest event of the sixties — the attempt by U.S. imperialism to crush the Vietnamese revolution. They centered their energies around helping to found an anti-Vietnam war movement in Canada.

"A World to Win" read the motto on the early Young Socialists' red membership cards. But they were a small and unimposing group alongside the rival forces of 1960 youth radicalism. There were strong clubs of the CCF (predecessor of the NDP) on most campuses, where the Young Socialists' talk of nationalizing big business was dismissed as dangerous dogmatism. A "ban the bomb" movement had thousands of supporters among youth but its early leaders, the developing New Left, thought the YS call for a stand against NATO was damaging and premature.

The Communist Party still had a cross-country youth organization with a monthly newspaper, *Advance*. And the Young Socialists were a tiny and inexperienced group.

How was the Young Socialists able to grow while other, initially far more imposing organizations splintered, split and disintegrated? Unlike the new left groups, CUCND and its successor SUPA, the Young Socialists almost never made the newspapers. They didn't have the powerful support the NDP's right-wing leadership granted its youth supporters, or the financial resources of the Young Communist League.

But that small group did have a few things going for it. They knew where to start. They began with the developed program of revolutionary so-



Penny Simpson and other YSers "Drink-In" at the Le Gobelet tavern in Montreal. They were defying the Quebec law excluding women from taverns.

cialism. If the New Left leaders prided themselves on rejection of all "dogmas", changing their strategies and principles with each new season, the Young Socialists based their program on the experiences of one hundred years of Marxist revolutionary thought and action. While many young radicals preached "you can't trust anyone over 30", the Young Socialists saw nothing to fear in Marx's grey beard or Lenin's bald head. In their day to day work they looked to the adult revolutionary organization the League for Socialist Action, as the embodiment of these traditions. And far from rejecting this adult organization, they collaborated with it, were aided by it, and helped to build it.

The decade was to see their fundamental positions, at first scornfully rejected by all other youth tendencies, win wide respect and often universal acceptance on the student left.

The Young Socialists named the enemy — the capitalist profit system organized around the world under the leadership of U.S. imperialism. They demanded a fundamental solution, a revolution, to build a totally new, socialist society. They looked to the working class as the key force to bring about this change. While supporting the workers' organizations, the unions and their political party then in formation, they saw their task as, together with the League for Socialist Action, a revolutionary working-class organization, in building a new revolutionary leadership for this class. They foresaw a massive radicalization of students ahead and aimed to win these students to revolutionary socialism. And they were internationalists — defenders of Cuba, of Vietnam, of world socialism.

But a program, no matter how correct, doesn't mean much unless translated into a strategy for action aimed at real and immediate possibilities. So the early Young Socialists Alliance hailed the formation of the movement for nuclear disarmament as the vehicle to awaken youth to the war danger posed by imperialism and to mobilize them towards disarming the war-makers.

The leaders of the "ban the bomb" movement, the CUCND, rejected any concept that the roots of war might lie in the capitalist system of profit and world pillage, and believed the bomb made traditional ideological divisions of left and right obsolete. In November 1960 the Young Socialist Alliance, in the first issue of its *Canadian Youth Bulletin* called on the CUCND to take a stand for the unilateral disarmament of the western powers. It called for opposition to the Liberal and Tory war parties, for immediate Canadian withdrawal from war alliances like NATO, and for the right of the Canadian people to vote on the question of nuclear arms.

In the fall of 1960 YSers Dick Fidler and John Riddell initiated the first high school anti-war movement in Toronto, the Canadian Students for Nuclear Disarmament. In January 1961 a hundred high schoolers came to a CSNP debate on NATO featuring unionist Doug Carr and Andrew Brevin of the CCF. After a powerful YS intervention in the floor debate, the assembly voted 2-1 against NATO and NORAD, establishing itself thereby as the radical wing of the anti-war movement.

In December 1960 John Darling ran as a YSA anti-war candidate for Toronto's Board of Education, receiving 6000 votes in a student-run campaign against cadet-training in the schools and for students rights.

But the greatest challenge faced by the early Young Socialists was the foundation of the New Democratic Party. They plunged into the building of the new party's youth wing. YSers John Wilson, Ernie Tate, Dick Fidler and Toni Gorton initiated the first Toronto clubs. With the NDP's founding the Young Socialists gave up their independent organization in order to move fully into the work of building the New Democratic Youth, and became its organized revolutionary socialist wing.

By 1961, the Young Socialists had organized a group in British Columbia, and formed a left alliance that won the leadership of the B.C. New Democratic Youth. In January 1962 they launched *Young Socialist Forum*, a mimeographed monthly magazine which served as the forum

for socialism in the B.C. NDY. Its chief editors were Ruth Tate and Phil Courneyeur. The early YSF campaigned for a socialist NDY, featured articles on the successes of the Cuban revolution and the war danger, and achieved a broad circulation in the B.C. left.

For six years the Young Socialists participated in the New Democratic Youth, building its clubs, promoting its activities, fighting for a socialist program and leadership. They organized a Left Caucus, uniting a broad range of forces to carry the socialist struggle in the organization. In Toronto, they led the NDY in a dramatic and successful campaign for the right to form political clubs in the high schoolers. Joe Young and Ken Wolfson were among the YSers that led this campaign and eventually won the partial agreement of the Toronto school board.

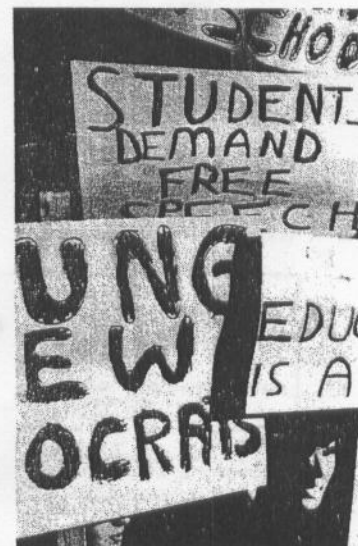
But the YS's very success led to vicious reprisals by the Party's right wing that was embarrassed by their radicalness and couldn't cope with the power of their revolutionary ideas. Expulsions of YSers from the NDP took place in British Columbia (1962) and Ontario (1963 and 1967). Yet the forces and influence of the Young Socialists in the NDY continued to grow.

In December 1963, B.C.'s mimeographed *Young Socialist Forum* was expanded into a monthly cross-Canada newspaper marking a turn to the building of a cross-Canada movement. The YSF was sold at high schools across the country, provoking considerable anger with high school principals and several encounters with the police.

In the summer of 1964 four of YSF's editors spent six weeks in Cuba as part of a tour of 45 Canadian students. They returned to speak in defense of the Cuban revolution at high schools and universities.

By 1965 YSF had a new headquarters at 32 Cecil St., and a program of regular forums and parties that made its address known by hundreds of youth as the meeting place for young radicals.

The summer 1964 issue of YSF carried this headline on the first page: "Get U.S. Troops Out of Vietnam!" The article said, "The



Students demonstrate in Toronto for political clubs in the NDY.

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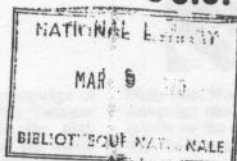
join the YS/LJS.

St. Catharines: Young Socialists, 20 Erie St., St. Catharines
 Guelph: Guelph U. Young Socialists, c/o Betty-Jane Sinclair, Apt. 205, 105 Water St., B21-2367
 Kitchener-Waterloo: Young Socialists, c/o Laurel Stuart, 2 Clarence Pl., Kitchener 576-2222
 London: Young Socialists, c/o Steve Harding, 1462 Trafalgar, 451-8252
 Winnipeg: Young Socialists, c/o Arnie Mintz, Apt. 34, 272 Cockburn
 Saskatoon: Young Socialists, Box 704, 652-5608
 Edmonton: Young Socialists, 10402 97th St., 424-7644
 U. of A. Young Socialists, c/o Student Union Bldg.
 Vancouver: Young Socialists, 1208 Granville, 698-5924
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- Americanization of the university
- Novack on revolutions
- U.S. students in Cuba



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We want Vietnam assemblies in our schools!

by Krytz Anderson and
Martin Shulman

"Sir, may we have a Vietnam assembly during school time. We promise that both sides will be presented and if you're too busy to set it up we'll be glad to do it for you."

"How many times do I have to tell you kids, NO."

And so our campaign was launched. On December 23, 1969 over 30 high school students, representing over ten high schools in the Toronto area, met to discuss the Students Against the

War in Vietnam's first campaign of 1970. Because we felt that Vietnam was being neglected in the high schools, we decided that we would campaign for Vietnam assemblies to be held during school time, in which the pros and cons of this bloody war could be presented.

We held a press conference to announce the start of our campaign and then tried to get as many prominent citizens as we could to sponsor the campaign. We approached Lotta Dempsey, a columnist for the *Toronto*

Daily Star. When asked to sponsor the campaign she said no, but wrote an article on the campaign. On the first day the *Star* gave us good coverage.

Next we approached the principals again and gave them one more chance to make our education relevant or, as we suspected in most cases, irrelevant. Knowing that we would be turned down in most schools we had printed up leaflets stating our case which we distributed for three days. We are now in the midst of two weeks of concentrated petitioning. We intend to present the petitions to the principals in the hope that by this time they will get the message. If they don't we are prepared to go to our individual Boards of Education and attempt the impossible. — PRESENTING OUR CASE AT A BOARD MEETING.

Just before the launching of the campaign the Toronto SAWV executive met with various high schoolers from Kitchener-Waterloo, Ottawa, London, Hamilton, Sarnia and just recently Kingston and Cornwall. These students have now started a campaign of their own in conjunction with the Toronto campaign, as have high school students in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton and Vancouver.

Already in London, one school of 2,100 students has scheduled four

assemblies for the teach-in. And there is the possibility that the teach-in may be televised via educational television to the other schools and 30,000 homes. In Hamilton four schools have scheduled teach-ins and in Vancouver, three schools.

In Toronto, there has been one school so far in which the principal has said yes, and there are good possibilities in two others. At over ten other schools the principals have refused the assemblies. At these schools we have distributed the leaflets and started the petitioning. In one of them the principal has threatened the students with expulsion if they continue the campaign. Even though we have been threatened and harassed we have still managed to accumulate over 3500 names.

However, to win our right to hold teach-ins in every school recognized, we are planning a mass march on the Ontario Department of Education as the culmination of the campaign. Other areas are also planning actions.

We hope to get the assemblies on April 15 in conjunction with the U.S. moratorium week. We hope to involve thousands of high school students in the April 18, March on Ottawa, against the Liberal war-mongers. Although the campaign is still in its early stages: CE N'EST QU'UN DEBUT — CONTINUONS LE COMBAT!



Three Toronto leaders of the campaign to get Vietnam assemblies in high schools; from the left, Nils Johanson, Martin Schulman, and Norm Dadoun.

SFU to Sir George: YSers campaign

By Joan Campana

"The whole educational system discriminates against women, helping to perpetuate the myth of women's inferiority. The University of Toronto must become actively involved in changing this situation to end all discrimination against women. A department of Women's Studies must be established, run and controlled by women, to research the history of women, to begin to tackle women's oppression and to provide such needed facilities as birth control information and devices and day care centres."

This was how presidential candidate for the University of Toronto, Joan Campana, began the Young Socialists campaign. This election is only part of the cross-Canada participation by the YS-LJS in University elections.

"Our student leadership can become the catalyzing agent for meaningful student action, a force speaking and acting with the authority of the students," said vice-presidential candidate, Ken Wolfson at a crowded cafeteria meeting at the U of T's Erindale campus. "In this way the university will become a dynamic base for social change."

The campaign focused on the social problems facing the university and society and how the university can confront them. The candidates also scored their opponents who "come before us year after year after year promising improvements in communications, greater unity and a raft

of other vague piece-meal reforms that in no way changes the nature of the university which breeds alienation and dissatisfaction.

York University presidential candidate, Dennis Lomas, one of the three YS candidates at York, took up an issue which the YS has been emphasizing across the country. "One of the root causes of the crisis we face on our campuses is that the operation of



Joan Campana, YS presidential candidate at University of Toronto.

the university lies completely outside the control of those whose lives it most affects and who are most competent to control it — the students, faculty and support staff. Let us not remain content to have outside interests run our universities."

Democratization of the university was also a key issue and on McMaster University where rigid, undemocratic rules bar many students from standing for office, Young Socialist, Bob Mills ran a write-in campaign

challenging the restrictive rulings.

At Sir George Williams, a united front of the Left Writers Group, YS-LJS and others, ran defending the Black students who are currently being tried, accused of destroying a computer center last spring. Victor Raymond, Marilyn Raphael and the other candidates demanded that the Black students be readmitted immediately, as well as, "Full civil liberties to all students including high school students. Freedom on speech, assembly, petition and travel and the right to demonstrate against government and university injustice without reprisals."

In Guelph, Ontario where there is a sizable minority of Black students, Socialist candidates Jim Onyschuk and Tom Baker brought to Canada a demand that is reverberating throughout the United States — the creation of a Black Studies Department for Third World students.

From Quebec to British Columbia, Young Socialists demanded an end to their campuses' complicity in the Vietnam war. They stressed the necessity of building the spring offensive in Ottawa on April 18. "We must not let student governments pussyfoot around on this issue," said Katie Curtin, YS candidate for a college representative at U of T. "Let them be in the forefront of building the largest student protest yet against the war."

At the University of B.C., David Welsh, YS, candidate for student president, commented on the barriers



to education faced by working class students. "We stand for the abolition of tuition fees, residence fees, for free textbooks and materials, for living allowances to all students, and massive construction of student residences under student control. And where does the money come from? Tax industry, starting with a capital gains tax, and eliminate defense spending."

At Simon Fraser University, Young Socialist Ron Dickson is running for President of the Student Society.

At the University of Alberta, Young Socialist gave critical support to Student Christian Movement candidate, Tim Christian, whose program in most parts paralleled the YS program. Christian was elected president by a decisive majority.

On other campuses the campaigns continue. But already the YS has been successful. Tens of thousands of students have heard the YS program and growing numbers are accepting that a real strategy for the student movement consists in creating a university active in the struggle for socialism.

april 1970 15¢

young socialist forum

- Canada in the West Indies
- U of T day care occupation
- high schools warp students



accomplices in crime
against Vietnam

women's liberation strategy: the need for independent organization

by Colleen Levis

As women's liberation groups spring up across North America many debates about organization and program are arising. A controversy has arisen in the young group at McMaster University in Hamilton, over the nature of women's oppression in capitalist society, and the purpose, function and organizational character of women's liberation groups.

The group which was initiated last fall, involved some radical women, and some women who had had no previous political experience. It began with discussions and exchange of experiences. Interest in the women's liberation movement has continued to grow to the point where it attracts considerable attention on the campus. The McMaster Student Movement, a loosely-formed group ranging from anarchist and New Left, to Maoist, had not involved itself in Women's Liberation until recently. Then, the whole group joined — men as well as women.

Some of the ideas about women's liberation which the MSM holds, have aroused a controversy about independent women's groups and about the nature of the women's liberation movement. The MSM'ers point out that the enemy of women is not men, but capitalist society, that capitalist society seeks to divide the working class through exploiting differences of language, culture, race and sex, and that we must strive to unite all oppressed against our common enemy — capitalist society. They argue that men have a stake in women's liberations, since they also suffer through women's oppression. These points are undeniable.

But, they conclude, women uniting independently will foster splits in the working class. They see the existence of mass movements such as that against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, for Black liberation, for self-determination for Quebec, and for women's liberation, as possible diversions for the working class from its revolution.

What they forget, is the primary fact — all women are oppressed. Women are trained to see themselves as inferior and secondary to men, with no ability outside the narrow confines of family and home. When

groups.

The movement as a whole, must be able to encompass all types of women, and all types of women's groups, regardless of their political analysis. Some women's groups will, in the process of struggle develop a socialist analysis. But to try to impose a socialist analysis as a prerequisite for fighting for women's rights, serves only to decapitate the potential of women's groups to mobilize masses of women in struggle against one of the most brutal aspects of capitalism.



Colleen Levis

they work it is in the most demeaning jobs, for the lowest pay. They are used by this society as sexual objects, to help sell products, and as targets to buy the whole conglomeration of goods that are profitable.

To deny that women must organize independently, is to fail to understand that women are oppressed as a sex. Because women suffer brutal exploitation by this society, it is women who must control and decide the means by which they will free themselves. It is only after women have come to unite as sisters, to see their common problems and needs that they will seek allies, which must include men. Women must achieve the dignity and pride in themselves that they have been deprived of by society, and gain ability and experience to organize themselves to fight their present position. This means they must organize independent women's liberation

There is absolutely no danger of women "diverting the revolution." For a women's liberation movement, rather than co-opting convinces them that this society is fundamentally rotten and needs changing. If this society cannot grant women their democratic rights as human beings, they will seek to establish one which can. The dynamics of women's liberation propels women from all classes toward conflict with capitalist society — since capitalist society cannot give them even the most basic rights as women.

The logic of men being members of the organization, is that the group combat, not just women's position, but also fight for human liberation — socialism. There is a necessity for groups which organize toward this end. In fact this is precisely what the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action are — organizations which unite all oppressed — workers, women, Quebecois, Indians, etc. to transform society. There is no contradiction between an independent women's movement and this broader socialist movement.

How Air Canada sees a women

This is an Air Canada stewardess.
Nice company coast-to-coast!

Her hair.
Look great. She's now always so fit the way that makes her look best. Which is kind of ironic.

A pretty smile.
Goes a long way to boost the business mind. One of our greatest assets.

Her new uniform.
It makes a difference to how she looks. One look and you know it's a new uniform. Lots of new ways.

Our schedule.
With more flights to more places in Canada than any other airline. Businessmen particularly appreciate the convenience of our travel agents.

Her legs.
They do a lot of work. But for a woman, they're a business asset.

Her hands.
They're busy your pillow, turn your blankets and serve you delicious continental breakfast all day. North American DCA and DCA flights. Over 2 hours.

We try to make business trips a pleasure!

AIR CANADA

We're going places!

he pays, we collect, she does the dishes

Join the young socialists!



Montreal: Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montreal 129, 861-3018 McGill U.

Young Socialists, c/o Andre Moreau, 861-3018

U. of Montreal Jeunes Socialistes, c/o Gilbert Rousseau, 342-3057

Sir George Williams U. Young Socialists, c/o Victor Raymond, 845-5912

Vieux Montreal Jeunes Socialistes, c/o Leon Peillard, 270-4756

Ottawa: Young Socialists / Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 365-1/2 Bank St., Ottawa 4, 232-1054

Carleton U. Young Socialists, c/o Students Council, Carleton, 235-2141

Toronto: Young Socialists, 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618

U. of T. Young Socialists, c/o Harry Kopyto, 635-7443

York U. Young Socialists, 267 Charlton Ave. W., 529-9302

St. Catharines: Young Socialists, 20 Erie St., St. Catharines

Guelph: Young Socialists, Jim Onyshuk, 350 Paisley Rd., Apt. C, 822-1035

Kitchener-Waterloo: Young Socialists, Box 971, Kitchener

London: Young Socialists, c/o Steve Harding, 1462 Trafalgar, 451-8252

Sarnia: Young Socialists, c/o Ian McKay, 870 Tudor Close, 542-2700

Winnipeg: Young Socialists, c/o Arnie Mintz, Apt. 34, 272 Cockburn, 452-8518

Saskatoon: Young Socialists, Box 704, 652-5658

Edmonton: Young Socialists, 10402 97th St., 424-7644

U. of A. Young Socialists, c/o Student Union Bldg.

Vancouver: Young Socialists, 1208 Granville, 688-5924

SFU: Young Socialists, c/o Ron Dixon, Student Society SFU, Bby. 2, 688-9924

UBC Young Socialists, c/o AMS, 688-5924

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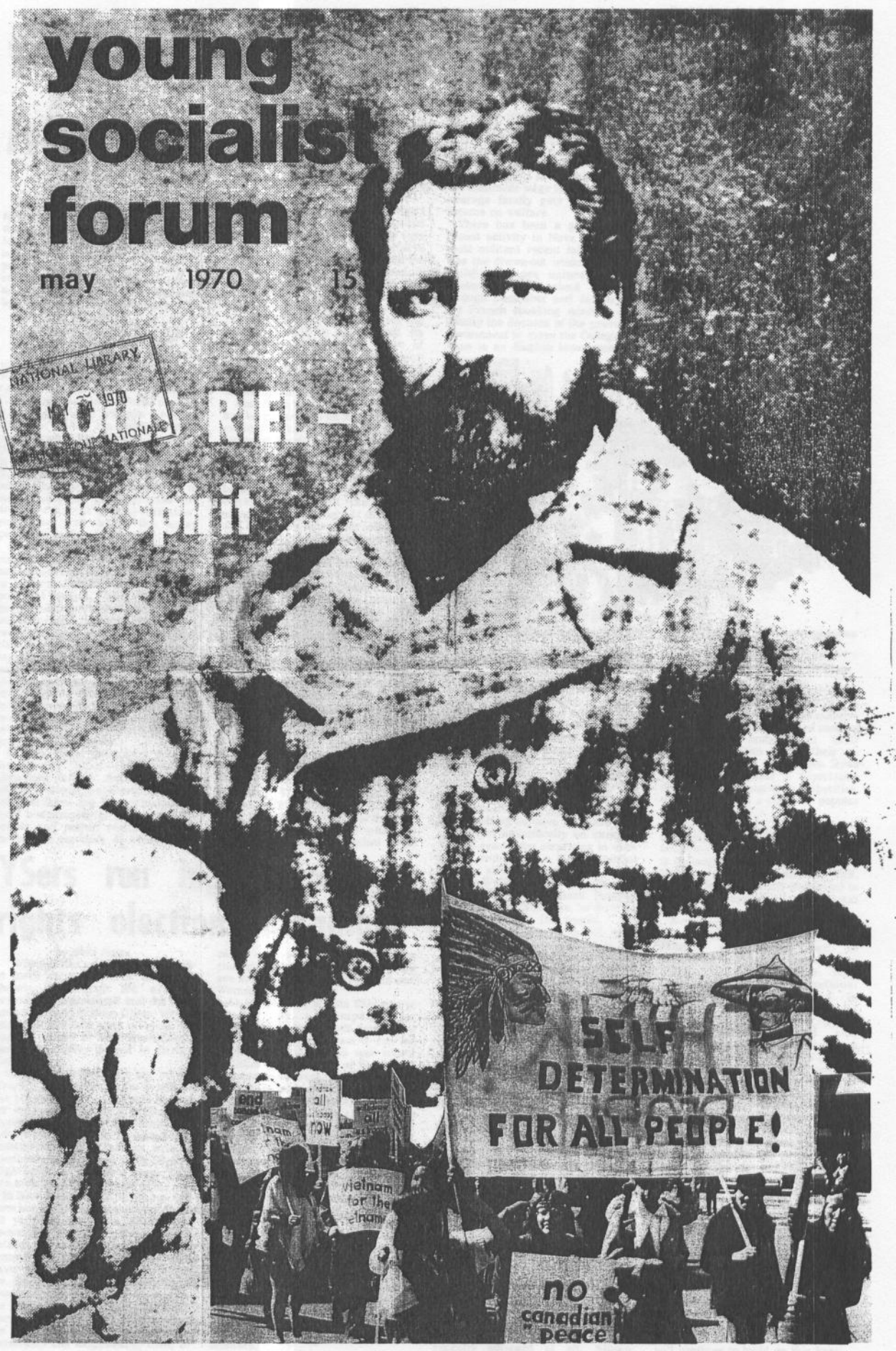
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LOUIS RIEL—

his spirit

lives

on



SELF
DETERMINATION
FOR ALL PEOPLE!

no
canadian
peace

tide of radicalism rising in Maritimes

There is a remarkable lack of information on the Maritimes in both the bourgeois and radical press. The following article is an attempt to begin to rectify this situation by presenting a survey of the developing radical movement in the mainland maritime provinces. It was prepared by the Fredericton Young Socialists.

The Maritimes is the perennial underdeveloped region of Canada. In New Brunswick, more than 60% of all families live below the Economic Council of Canada's official poverty line. An additional 25% earn marginal incomes, under the \$8200 a year necessary for the average family to live an "adequate" life. This situation is worsened in a time of crisis. Trudeau's austerity drive in the civil service has thrown thousands out of work throughout the Maritimes and the government's "anti-inflation" measures have driven the unemployment rate to 10 or 11%.

People's responses to the worsening conditions of life have been vigorous and militant but largely invisible due to several local features of the political scene. The provincial governments are tightly controlled by bureaucratic Liberal and Conservative regimes. The lack of any New Democratic Party voice in the legislatures assures that "inconvenient" problems will neither be heard nor discussed. The control of the English language press by businessmen like K.C. Irving results in an efficient suppression of news not favorable to local business and government interests.

Despite these difficulties protest movements have taken form. Organized labor's demand for an adequate standard of living has so far only hardened the determination of local businessmen to preserve their profits and power, resulting in an increasing incidence of strikes and

lock-outs. The National Farmers Union (NFU) is organizing against the agribusiness interests who take the wealth of the agricultural economy out of the pockets of both the farmer and the consumer, and is finding an enthusiastic, militant, and increasingly radical response. The NDP is beginning to show signs of life. For example, in New Brunswick the provincial NDP is putting out its newsletter again after a lapse of several months. Constituency meetings are being organized and there is some talk of setting up workshops in the larger cities.

And within the last six months there has been a change on the campus. A radical student movement has emerged throughout the Maritimes and is beginning to go through the initial phase of organization and consolidation. Communications are being established between the working class and the student organizations and there is every sign that the protest movement will spread and grow in effectiveness in the near future.

Recent activity on Prince Edward Island has been coordinated by three organizations: the National Farmers Union, the P.E.I. Tenants Union and the Education Committee. The Education Committee, based at U of P.E.I., is a loosely defined group of student radicals who work both on campus and quite closely with the NFU and the Tenants Union. The chairman was one of the first students at U of P.E.I. elected to the Faculty Senate and resigned last October to protest the inadequate authority assigned to students.

The work of the Education Committee on campus has included organizing teach-ins and running candidates in student government elections. Their presidential candidate got 25% of the vote. The high point in terms of militant activity on campus came in January when 300 students demonstrated against a rise

in tuition fees by sitting in at the provincial legislature.

The P.E.I. Tenants Union, consisting of 800-1000 families, is one of the largest tenants' unions in Canada. P.E.I. is one of the provinces where the minimum wage is so low that the average family gets a little more income on welfare.

There has been a great deal of recent activity in Nova Scotia. The most militant recent labor struggle was the drawn-out wildcat strike of building trades unions in Cape Breton, involving about 4000 men through December and January. In the French speaking Acadian community the decision of the provincial government to move the College Ste. Anne to an English town generated

University at Sackville in eastern New Brunswick. There, a women's liberation organization and a radical student group called "People" have been formed. These groups have been involved in a number of demonstrations on campus involving administration suspensions of popular professors and students.

The University of New Brunswick has had a fairly long history of left-wing activity, beginning with the formation of the Canadian Struggle for a Democratic Society (CSDS) around Norman Strax about three years ago. The subsequent firing of Dr. Strax and the censure of the UNB administration by the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) resulted in the mobilization



New Brunswick students demonstrating their opposition to the government's complicity in Vietnam April 18 in Ottawa.

active resistance both among the students and the people of Pointe d'Eglise, where the college was located. Halifax has a fairly large radical movement and a potentially much bigger one. Among the students the Nova Scotia New Democratic Youth, based at Dalhousie University and with three high school chapters is the main organization. Although the Dalhousie NDY is quite large, they are relatively inactive and have only intervened sporadically on campus. This is even more surprising in view of the evidence of a large potential base for student radicalization: when Chaka Walls, deputy Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party spoke at Dalhousie, he drew an audience of about 1200 people.

Half of the population of New Brunswick is Acadian, living in the northern and eastern parts of the province. Three years ago an Acadian student movement at the University of Moncton climaxed in the occupation of the administration buildings to protest discriminatory educational financing by the provincial government; this protest was broken by the university administration with the expulsion of several students. Since then the campus has remained relatively quiet on the surface.

The Acadian student movement has recently emerged again at the College de Bathurst in northern New Brunswick, where students recently ended an occupation of the administration offices. This event was preceded by the presentation of a brief to the National Acadian Society proposing the study of the feasibility of annexing northern New Brunswick to Quebec.

In English New Brunswick the protest movement has included both the students and the National Farmers Union. In December the NFU organized a large demonstration in western New Brunswick against the recently-passed Potato Industries Act, mobilizing over 300 farmers in the area. Student organizations have recently emerged at Mt. Allison

of a large fraction of university students. The inability of the CSDS to consolidate and organize this massive support and the alienation of most of the student body from their ultraleftist politics led to their increasing isolation. Thus when Strax was recently issued a deportation order by the Immigration authorities, there was hardly a ripple of popular interest.

Last December, a new campus organization, New Brunswick Socialists (NBS), split off from CSDS in a disagreement on the orientation that should be taken to political work. The CSDS subsequently decreased in size and stopped all significant political work.

New Brunswick Socialists committed itself both to building a campus organization and to developing a socialist consciousness within the working class. NBS developed a strong educational program which succeeded in demonstrating the existence of alternatives to ultraleftism in the student movement and also established valuable off-campus contacts with the National Farmers Union, the Union of New Brunswick Indians and the Canadian Trotskyist movement. Recently, a natural division of labor within NBS between campus and working class activity has evolved. The continuing need to build a strong cross-Canada campus socialist movement with an international outlook and working class program led to some of the NBS members to form a local of the Young Socialists to work in collaboration with the largely off-campus NBS.

The recent formation of a YS local is a significant step forward for the student movement in UNB and in the Maritimes as a whole, which has previously been influenced mainly by New Left organizations. The productive work of the NBS has won the socialist tendency substantial respect throughout the Maritimes, and the Fredericton Young Socialists will continue to build on this base.

YSers run high school rights election campaigns

by Mike Jones

"Why is it that some have the power to force their standards down the throats of others? We are increasingly disillusioned and we want answers," said Colleen Glynn, who is part of a militant slate of seven for student council at New Westminster Senior Secondary School in British Columbia.

High school students all across Canada are beginning to challenge the school structure. They are looking for alternatives to their present administration-controlled student councils. Young Socialists in New Westminster and Martin Shulman, write-in candidate for president at MacKenzie High School in Toronto's North York are offering alternatives.

In New Westminster, the group has been building for the present elections all year by leading a number of successful struggles: They won a petition campaign and referendum to remove the dress restrictions and have organized two Vietnam teach-ins. These significant victories have aroused the student body, so that in the present election the students are demanding a new constitution freeing the council from any administrative censorship and empowering them to

carry out any decisions of the students. Included in the campaign are major emphases on Vietnam and Women's Liberation.

At MacKenzie, Martin Shulman is running on a campaign for democracy in the schools demanding the "right of any student to run for student council and to use school facilities to present his or her case." This emphasis arose when Martin and his running mate were disqualified by the principal, on the grounds of marks and grade. When they attempted to run a write-in campaign, the principal acclaimed the president in an attempt to avert the student rights campaign.

An article in The Telegram, one of Toronto's newspapers, on the undemocratic methods of this principal and considerable pressure from the students, has now forced the principal to hold a referendum on whether students should vote on the whole question of eligibility for student council elections. Both Martin and the New Westminster slate are offering alternatives, and their campaigns are being picked up by students all across Canada. In the words of Colleen, "We are increasingly disillusioned and we want answers."

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MASSACRE AT KENT, JACKSON

- eyewitness account
- U.S. student strike



anti-war victories won in high schools

by Allen Paterson

The Toronto high school anti-war movement responded to the Kent State murders and the invasion of Cambodia with an escalation of anti-war activities. On May 8, leaflets were distributed to 25 schools in the Toronto area asking students to wear black armbands and to hold memorial services in their schools.

The response to this appeal was widespread even though school officials attempted to intimidate the students by ripping off the armbands and denying memorial services.

On May 11, a Students Against the War in Vietnam delegation was led by Nils Johansson to the Borough of York Board of Education. At this meeting the board passed a resolution urging principals to hold assemblies on the South East Asian war in the schools. It was passed unanimously. This delegation met with none of the difficulties which SAWV faced when it approached the North York Board. Obviously the York Board learned some lessons.

A few days later, on May 13, a committee of the North York Board was approached by SAWV and it adopted the position supporting Vietnam assemblies in the schools. As a result of the two Boards' decisions York Memorial and Boylen collegiates are planning assemblies. However some principals in both boroughs have refused to budge from their opposition to these assemblies. Although a few days after this North York decision, Sir Sanford Fleming Collegiate held an assembly on "Soviet Jewry", the administration refuses still to hold Vietnam assemblies.

A SAWV delegation approached the Toronto Board on May 21 and this board sent the delegation's brief to a

committee stalling until this school year is over.

It is now apparent that the same boards of education in the Toronto area are attempting to absolve themselves of all responsibility for Vietnam assemblies after giving formal approval and place the burden of refusing assemblies onto the principals. This is part of the familiar tactic of divide and rule with the boards attempting to divide the student anti-war movement into individual schools, thereby having the anti-war students attempting to win their rights from each individual principal and not combining into an effective city-wide force. However, the students will return to the Boards if the assemblies are not granted by the principals.

It would be logical to expect the Boards to carry out acts which they hope will co-opt students such as setting up meaningless advisory committees with students, teachers, principals and board members to make recommendations to the board. Already the first sign of this has appeared in North York with Intercollegiate Student Council of North York.

SAWV is continuing with the struggle to win free speech and other democratic rights for high school students and is continuing to organize anti-war forces, prepare for demonstrations and mobilize the mass of students.

In terms of consistency of actions and militancy the current SAWV campaign has been the most militant and radical action to occur in the Toronto area high schools for the year. The campaign has been successful in opening the school door a crack in getting students their rights. SAWV, along with other radicals in the schools are organizing for

The following is a campaign leaflet of Mark Layton, a Young Socialist, running for president in Windermere High School in Vancouver. Layton after facing censorship by the school's authorities was disqualified from the election on a minor technicality. The disqualification was a political act designed to prevent students from voting for a socialist candidate.

The election campaign here at Windermere has been turned into a farce! Why was it turned into a farce? Because of censorship!!

MY SPEECH WAS CENSORED!

Why? Because I reported the facts of what is happening in high schools and universities in the U.S. The fact that students and teachers in hundreds of U.S. campuses are taking control of their schools to protest something which deeply concerns them, and right so! The war in Indochina is capable of escalation into WW III. Does this sound irrelevant? Is it irrelevant that at least six of our brothers and sisters have been murdered on U.S. campuses because of their opposition to the war? These students died in the line of duty at anti-war events in Indochina.

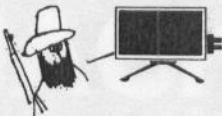
MY DREAM

Why? Because I reported the facts that birth control is being placed in a high school. I am not in place and I object to the fact that the school which of my ideas are and which are not. Does the fact that women in Canada die yearly from attempted abortions sound irrelevant? It is irrelevant to me! Any and all women have the right to control their own destinies and their own bodies. The fact that the administration can tell me what is important in my campaign and what isn't turns this election into a farce, a joke! The administrations' ability to regulate what the students can say or hear means that the students don't even have the most basic democratic rights. The administrations' ability to control vandalism and disruption of classes is not license to control of students' minds!

FOR ACTION AGAINST THE WAR
FOR A RELEVANT EDUCATION
FOR STUDENT-TEACHER CONTROL
FOR BIRTH CONTROL AND SEX EDUCATION
IF YOU SUPPORT THE BASIC RIGHTS OF FREE SPEECH, THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS ONE'S VIEWS
VOTE MARK LAYTON FOR PRESIDENT.
BUILD MAY 30th PROTEST AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA.
ALL OUT MAY 30TH

democracy and the right of students to organize around political issues in their schools. Already committees for democratic rights for students exist in a number of schools and one school has a women's liberation group. These are just the beginning. During

the summer, anti-war high school students will continue to organize and when high schools begin next year, the Boards of Education and the principals will meet a stronger and more determined high school movement.



by Harry Kopyto

For many years, the movie industry in Hollywood has been churning out escapist movies, movies which could attract a public looking for action and excitement, for something to relieve for a few hours the monotony of life in an office and factory day after day.

During the height of the Great Depression, the movie houses were bristling with extravaganza musicals in which dozens of scantily-clad girls danced across the screen to sooth the emptiness of the hungry, frustrated and unemployed. And there was always plenty of humor to make you laugh loudly, to forget the hole in your right shoe and your empty wallet.

Tens of thousands of westerns and war films were pumped out of the Hollywood machine from about 1940 to 1960. The glorification of war and patriotism, the maintenance of the Great American Myth of the brave frontiersman fighting off hostile Indians permeated the cellulose tapes. We saw those mean "Jerries" and "Japs" getting it straight between the eyes and we were so proud when Johnny came marching home. And, of course the occasional cops and robbers film served to remind the

viewers that those who wavered from the straight and narrow path of righteousness always got what they deserved in the form of an all-American United States steel bullet or a General Electric chair — Zap!

The cash registers kept jingling (even though TV cut heavily into the movie's escapist fare) and the people came out of the movie houses a little sad because they had to go back to their empty flats.

But funny things started happening about ten years ago. The mood of America was changing. In a word, people started facing an increasingly unpleasant reality — and in some cases, fighting it — in place of escaping from it. The sex-and-violence films were still running at your neighbourhood theatre (Double Bill — if the first one doesn't titillate you, maybe the second one will!) but those little art movies downtown were running things like *How I won the War* or *La Dolce Vita*, *La Guerre est Finie* or *The Organizer* and the lineups were getting longer and longer. These were a different breed of films — satiric, caustic, bitter, biting, even irreverent and obscure. And they were putting down the establishment, or at least,

picking on it.

The last few years have seen the explosive growth of the Hollywood social film. Ignoring the pabulum liberal Guess Who's Coming to Dinner trash movies which feed the complacency of the middle classes, the Hollywood social films can be broadly divided into two categories: the ones that tell it like it is and the ones that tell it like it isn't.

Recent films which would fall into the first category are *Easy Rider*, *They Shoot Horses Don't They?*, *Medium Cool* and *Midnight Cowboy*. While these movies do much to expose the violence and falseness of the Pax Americana mirage, at best they inspire you to commit suicide afterwards. These movies are dripping with hopelessness, futility, anguish and defeat. It's important, of course, for people to realize that Capitalism circa 1970 doesn't allow you to be a nice guy, that capitalism doesn't even obey its own rules.

But is it enough to tell people they are being crushed? Is it enough to tell them how boulder off their backs?

the inside AGITATOR

The movies that don't tell it like it is are the freak-out movies, movies like *Woodstock*, *Bob and Carol and Ted and Alice*, the Beatles movies and so on. These films are all hung up on the all-you-need-is-love theme. They are part of the hip scene, they're groovy and cool, they identify with social protest, but in the end, they all cop out. Fix your head and not society, they tell us, and sometimes the good feeling you get after seeing these films lasts as long as the next morning when your foreman or teacher starts barking at you.

What is needed — a socially conscious movie that tells us — are movies that tell us the system but which we can change it, reality but reality of A.

imperialism succeeded, how himself into position that lesson administered even more forcefully than in the case of his predecessor, who was also a gambler.

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- life in Israel today
- Nixon regime in crisis
- red power in Canada

TURNED OFF?

**Mandel
on
Alienation**



From the Three Penny Novel by Bertolt Brecht.
A speech by MacHeath (Mac the Knife)

"Grooch," he said, "you are an old burglar. Your profession is burglary. I wouldn't think of suggesting that your profession, in itself, is out of date. That would be going too far. Only its form, Grooch, does it lag behind the times. You are an artisan, a hack, and that's all there is to it. That class is on the wane — you can't deny that. What is a pick-lock compared to a combination share? What is the burgling of a bank compared to the founding of a bank? What, my dear Grooch, is the murder of a man compared to the employment of a man?"

Take an example. A few years ago we stole a whole street made of wooden blocks; we dug the blocks out, loaded them on to a cart, and drove away with them. We thought we had done something wonderful. In reality, we had only made ourselves unnecessary work and run an unnecessary risk. Shortly afterwards I heard that one only has to be a town councillor in order to be able to arrange the distribution of contracts oneself. Then one gets the contract for such and such a street and also several years' guaranteed profits

... what is the burgling of a bank compared to the founding of a bank ?



THOSE WHO TAKE THE MEAT FROM THE TABLE

Teach contentment.
Those for whom the taxes are destined
Demand sacrifice.
Those who eat their fill speak to the hungry
Of wonderful times to come.
Those who lead the country into the abyss
Call ruling too difficult
For ordinary men.

— Bertolt Brecht

But those who have no pennies
O, what do they do, pray?
Lie down and get themselves buried
While the world goes its way?

O, no, for we'd have no pounds, then,
If they were allowed to do that!
For without their toiling and molling
We'd none of us grow fat.

— Nursery Rhyme

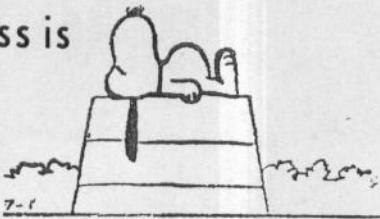
without running any risks at all.

Another time I sold a house which didn't belong to me; it was empty at the time. I put up a notice: For sale. Apply at XX. That was me. Childishness! That was really immoral because it was taking unnecessary advantage of illegal ways and means. That can be done just as easily by putting up a row of jerry-built houses, selling them on the installment plan, and waiting until the purchasers run out of money! Then one has the houses as well and can repeat the process as often as one likes. And all that without the police having any excuse to interfere!

Take our business for example: we break into shops at night in order to get the goods we want to sell. Why? When the shops go bankrupt through being uneconomically run, we can buy their goods with perfect legality at prices far below the costs of burgling! And then, if you set store on such things, we have just as much stolen the goods as if we had committed a burglary. . . . Nowadays a man must work within the law; it's just as much fun! . . .

In this present age one uses more peaceful methods. Brute force is out of date. Why send out murderers when one can employ bailiffs? We must build up, not pull down; that is, we must build up for profit."

happiness is



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The bonsai tree
in an attractive pot
could have grown eighty feet tall
on the side of a mountain
till split by lightning.
But a gardener
carefully pruned it.
It is nine inches high.
Every day as he
whittles back the branches
the gardener croons.
It is your nature
to be small and cosy,
domestic and weak,
how lucky little trap
to have a pot to grow in.
With living creatures
one must begin very early
to thwart their growth:
the bound feet,
the crippled brain,
the hair in curlers,
the hands you love to touch.

— Marge Piercy



young socialist

Sept. 1970 15 cents



- New Left leaders join YS
- Socialist Student Program
- Eyewitness in Cuba

Leading Sask. radicals

On July 26 five leading members of the Saskatchewan-based Committee for a Socialist Movement announced to a provincial meeting of the CSM that they were leaving it to join the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. This decision came after months of debates within CSM, an organization that contained the many points of view of its members by avoiding the adoption of any clear program. It was an attempt by the "new left" to find a new road to the socialist revolution.

The five, Howard Brown, John Caswell, Karen Kopperud, Paul Kouri, and Richard Thompson are all leading Saskatchewan socialists who have had a long experience in the new left. Their decision to join the YS/LJS is a significant sign of the times.

The following is the text of speeches given at a public Young Socialists meeting in Regina, August 9, where three of the five spoke along with Jacquie Henderson, executive secretary of the YS/LJS. In these speeches the three explain their reasons for joining the Young Socialists.

Karen Kopperud

I'd like to welcome you tonight to this meeting, the first of a series to be held in Regina by the Young Socialists. The Young Socialists is an organization of revolutionaries. That means that we feel that all the problems people experience in the context of our present society - war, poverty, pollution, the deep economic crisis of this province - flow from a cause, the nature of this profit-oriented society. We see that there are no real solutions to these problems until the entire society is changed.

I think we should be very clear about the kind of change that we are talking about. When we say that we are revolutionaries we are not talking about a change in society that would take place some dark groovy night when a small group takes over the local palace and runs up the red flag. We are talking about a change that will involve the vast majority of Canadians consciously acting to change the entire society and all the relationships in it, from the way people relate to each other, to the way that the government operates to the way people relate to their jobs.

We're out to change the whole system. We see that all the problems of Saskatchewan are intimately tied to the problems throughout the whole

country, the continent, the world. And therefore if you are serious about changing the system, about changing the world, it is necessary to confront the system where you find it. To be effective you have to build an organization capable of doing that. That is one of the important reasons why a number of us decided to join the Young Socialists. We felt that we could no longer continue to confine our activities purely to the problems of Saskatchewan. The YS is the only cross country movement which offered the opportunity for serious socialists to coordinate their struggles across the country and around the world.

The first speaker tonight is significant not just in himself but because, in many ways, he represents the experiences many young people have gone through - the things they've felt had to be done, the ways they've tried to devise to change things.

Richard Thompson first became involved in political activity quite



Karen Kopperud

spontaneously in 1965 during a sit-down of hundreds of young people at the U.S. consulate in Toronto in solidarity with the black struggle in the U.S. From that action a number of people including Richard came to the conclusion that something more was necessary than the one action.

At that point Richard came to Saskatchewan to participate in "cleaning up our own backyard", as we were told to do when we demonstrated over "U.S. problems" like the oppression of blacks. He came to Saskatchewan to organize among the Native Indians in the Neestow Project that was run by the Student Union for Peace Action. After that he came to the Saskatoon campus of the University of Saskatchewan and

became active in campus politics. Still searching for a way to change society he, like many other radicals, joined the Company of Young Canadians and became one of the board of directors. Later he resigned from that. He has been active in the Young New Democrats and a regional organizer of the Canadian Union of Students. He has been active in politics at the University of Saskatchewan, having run several times for the student council and being one of the editors of the student paper the River Fiddler.

In the past year Richard has participated in building an organization called the Committee for a Socialist Movement which was yet another attempt to build some sort of organization that could lead in a profound social change. Through his experiences in that organization he has come to the conclusion that it is inadequate and recently joined the Young Socialists. It is the reasons for that political process that Richard is going to talk about now.

Richard Thompson

I didn't prepare in great elaborate detail a speech on the process I went through. What I want to raise is some of the general themes that I think come out of it - themes about socialism and how to make the revolution.

I think there are three main directions radicals are going in Canada today. One is reformism, the tendency that sees that capitalism can be reformed, that it doesn't need

to be overthrown. One is ultra-leftism, those people who call for armed struggle now. The other is Trotskyism.

I've never really been a reformist. I've been a liberal, I guess I've been apolitical and I've been radical. But I've never believed in the reformism put forward by the leadership of the New Democratic Party. For a long time I've been a revolutionary who saw the need to bring about socialism and tried to work within



Richard Thompson

organizations which I thought were promoting that end. But all of those organizations had the limitation of either just representing certain sectional interests of one group like,

SFU struggle reborn

by Bob Sims

The struggle over the Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology department at Simon Fraser University has become revitalized over the summer. During the last school year President Strand dismissed eight professors in the department because the eight conducted a strike against the administration last fall. Strand purged the department and placed it under trusteeship, when it seemed to be democratizing its structures with significant student control on the PSA department's ruling committees. The case, after initial actions, has remained dormant for several months.

A committee known as the Palmer Hearing committee was established to investigate the case. On July 24 it presented a decision unanimously rebuking Strand for his arbitrary interpretations of the Academic Freedom and Tenure brief and stated thereby that fair and just procedures for hearing evidence would be impossible, thus it was impossible to find just cause for dismissal. Reinstatement was unanimously demanded by the committee of three composed of Strand's nominee, the professors' nominee and one nominated by Wacky Bennett's Supreme Court.

The students were galvanized by the Palmer Committee decision and what followed was a war of words with thousands of mimeographed copies of statements by the professors, Strand, the Canadian Association of University Teachers and the PSA and Psychology student unions. This was the only form the

political struggle took.

Then came the cruncher. With only four days of classes left, Strand simply dismissed the hearing committee and its decision with the ridiculous assertion that since it had failed to consider evidence it failed to exist as such and offered the professors a new hearing committee or immediate firing. Professors Aberle and Potter stood on the legitimacy of the Palmer committee and refused while four others capitulated in order to stay on campus through the fall. More leaflets followed. Some student councillors offered that they had "Feelings of great moral reprehension" over Strand's outrageous actions.

The SFU Young Socialists demanded the Students Council call an emergency meeting of the student society, pointing out that the council had avoided their responsibilities and should give back authority to initiate student support actions to a general meeting of the student body. The council couldn't even find a quorum to make this move so the Young Socialists initiated a general rally.

About 200 students attended. A broad PSA defence committee centered around the PSA student union came out of the meeting. Young Socialists will work in this to bring students into the struggle by calling for a meeting of the student society in the first week of fall classes to work out actions of support of reinstatement of the eight, for the 300 PSA students who will go without courses because of a "professor shortage" and for student-faculty control of the university.

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say, students, and couldn't really escape just working for the aims of that particular group — the Canadian Union of Students was such an organization — or they recognized the need for socialism but couldn't make all the bridges, all the links between the situation now and the socialist revolution. The CSM was this type of organization.

Ultra-leftism and reformism are both based in an idealist world view. They don't recognize the existing reality in Canada today and what the possibilities are right now for building the socialist movement. The reformists wish that the problems of the world could be solved by reforming capitalism. They don't want to have to work for a fundamental change in society. So they conclude that capitalism can be reformed. The ultra-lefts wish that the revolution could be made today without a long process of participating in the struggles of the working people and all oppressed people to take them forward. So they say that this is the time for armed struggle for power. It is because of this idealism, their failure to recognize the reality of the class struggle today that I rejected both of them.

When we look at the class struggle in Canada today we see most clearly that people's consciousness is not the same. A few workers see the need for socialism. Others don't see that need. They think their problems can be solved by trade unions or by the NDP, and so on. It is an unevenly developing consciousness. And not only is it an unevenly developing consciousness, but there are different sectional interests which can conflict. The farmers fight for their interests, the workers for theirs, the students for theirs, etc. What is necessary in order to bring all these struggles together into one common fight that can overthrow capitalism is some sort of organization that has an understanding of why the struggles are being fought in the way they are, which has some program that can bridge the gap between where the struggle is now and where we're

trying to get — to socialism. I saw the need for an organization which could do this on a consistent basis. That is why I joined the Young Socialists.

Karen Kopperud

The next speaker is Howard Brown. Howard is from Saskatchewan, has spent all his life here. He was active in the NDY. He is now active in the NDP and particularly in its left-wing Waffle caucus. Howard, along with Richard and myself, was a candidate for the CSM in the municipal elections that took place in Saskatoon last fall. Howard is going to talk about something that was one of the most controversial questions in the CSM — a question which brought about the downfall of CSM. That question is the relationship of revolutionaries to the NDP.

Howard Brown

The Canadian new left, since its very inception has rejected the New Democratic Party. In its earlier period the new left had a very ambiguous and amorphous sort of ideology. It was characterized by an anti-authoritarianism and anti-bureaucratism and centered around concepts of community organizing and what was described as "participatory democracy". It rejected both class analysis and historical materialism as a mode of historical explanation. It rejected the working class as any kind of a vehicle for revolution.

Today I think its even less possible to talk about a new left ideology. The new left is factionalized in a desperate search for theory and a strategy that can begin to explain the present dilemma and provide it with some sort of strategy for the next period. A whole plethora of tendencies, sects and factions have emerged. Anarchism, spontaneism, terrorism, ultra-leftism, often mixed with some form of Maoism, are all characteristics of the present new left. Basically the new left is a product of the uneven development of consciousness which Richard was referring to — the spontaneous radicalization of

students at a juncture in which the working class remains relatively passive.

When we say that the student movement emerged spontaneously we don't mean to say that it sprang from the sky. What we mean is that the student movement arises basically out of the contradictions that exist within the capitalist university and the contradictions of world imperialism. Particularly the Cuban revolutions and the struggle of the Vietnamese people have given a tremendous incentive to radical students. They have bared the hollowness of the rhetoric and the ideology of advanced capitalism.

When we say that the new left emerged spontaneously, we mean that the new left has existed by a painful process of trial and error of a primitive character. It is clear that this spontaneity is not enough. It is not enough to repeat over again all the experiences and mistakes of earlier generations of revolutionaries without learning anything.

The new left has generally come to the recognition of its impotence in isolation and has thus come to understand that it is the working class that will make the revolution. What remains is for the new left to recover the historical lessons of well over a century of working class struggle. It is our contention that experience is best summed up in its positive aspects by Trotskyism.

We support the NDP, despite its leadership. That may seem contradictory but the contradiction is not ours. To the contrary, that contradiction is rooted in the contradictory nature of the NDP. As similar as the bureaucratically-determined policy of the NDP may be to the Liberal and Conservative parties, the NDP is not a capitalist party. We support the NDP because it is a labor party. This fact is determined by its affiliation with the trade union movement, its support by workers at the polls, and particularly

by its general independence from the capitalist class. Our strategy is to build an alternative leadership to the bankrupt leadership of the Romanovs, the Blakenys, Douglas', Lewis', a leadership based in a socialist program.

Marx said somewhere in Capital, that theory only begins when we penetrate below the appearance of things. The ultra-lefts may recite all kind of rhetoric which may seem theoretical, but their understanding of politics argues that of appearance. The NDP for the ultra-lefts is no more than its reformist leadership. That's all they see when



Howard Brown

they talk about the NDP. Elitists themselves, they understand politics only in terms of the activity of elites. Whatever their recognition of some rhetorical working class they're fond of talking about but have very little contact with, the ultra-lefts fail completely to understand the political activity of that class.

Inevitably spontaneous radicalization will be reflected in the NDP. We can already see it in the development of the Waffle. For revolutionaries the choice in this situation is quite clear — either they can adopt a sectarian position, they can abandon the real movement of the working people and make rhetorical pronouncements, or they can build the NDP on the basis of an attempt to lead the radicalization in confrontation and on going basis with the NDP bureaucracy. The latter perspective is that of the Trotskyists. It is the perspective of attempting to lead the working class, not abandoning it.

We regard the development of the Waffle caucus in the NDP as a tremendously positive development. For the first time in Saskatchewan, socialists are organized into a caucus which functions openly and democratically within the party. Not only has the caucus open a discussion around basic socialist ideas in the clubs — if it only did that it would be a tremendous development. But it has posed itself, in terms of the Don Mitchell campaign for the leadership of the Saskatchewan NDP, as an alternative leadership. Whatever criticisms might be brought against the Waffle in terms of its program, its independent candidacy for the leadership has signified a tremendous step forward in working class politics in this province. It has adopted a strategy of grass roots organizing, a strategy of increased orientation to extra parliamentary activity and has refused to engage in any sort of unprincipled collaboration with the Blakeney leadership of the party. We support the Waffle. We support the Saskatchewan Waffle strategy. And the Saskatoon Young Socialists will make every effort in the next period to build the Waffle caucus. We can only ask for your support.



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- Socialist convention in occupied Quebec
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Young Socialists meet

Biggest convention plans campaigns

The newspaper commentators and politicians who have been gleefully announcing the death of student radicalism should have been in Montreal, December 31-January 2. They would have been able to see the largest cross-country gatherings of revolutionary youth in decades.

The Fifth Bi-national Convention of the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes demonstrated not a decline in the radicalization, but an increase. Almost half of the 230 participants had joined the YS/ LJS in the past year. Several joined during the convention. The delegates came from twenty cities, in every province. But Prince Edward Island, from 24 Universities and 16 high schools.

Seventeen percent were in the same situation as thousands of other Canadian youth — the educated unemployed.

This was a serious meeting of revolutionaries, to discuss problems and exchange experiences, and above all to plan action. The long, lively and democratic discussions projected full-scale campaigns: building the campaign for the freeing of Quebec political prisoners, a Spring mobilization against the war in Vietnam, and the February 13's March on Ottawa for free abortion on demand. In addition, the delegates planned an expansion drive, including a financial drive, and heavy concentration on sending travelling organizers into new areas.

It wasn't a convention without problems. There were little problems — the wires for the homemade simultaneous translation system hung everywhere, and the translators broke down on occasion; the hall was too small for all the people who came; and it took too long for everyone to recover from the New Year's Party. And there were big problems — the problems of building a cross-country leadership for the student movement.

But every convention has problems — at this convention you were part of the solution.

The Convention showed its orientation to full solidarity with the Quebec struggle by adjourning one session to take part in a demonstration of support for the Quebec political prisoners in Tanguay prison.

It showed internationalism by including in its discussions representatives from England, Palestine, France, the U.S., New Zealand, and Belgium.

And above all, it showed, by its seriousness, by its adoption of a clear program of action, why the YS/ LJS has grown while every other radical group has stagnated.

On these pages we include photos, resolutions, interviews and excerpts from discussions at the Convention.



"No free Quebec without liberated women" one of the many banners which decorated the hall, criss-crossed with wires from the translation system.



Brenda Zannis, who coordinated the convention translation system. The homemade equipment enabled the three days' proceedings to be carried in French and English simultaneously.

Photos by
Michel Mill
and
Norm Faria



The presiding committee, which supervised



It wasn't all talk! Delegates at the New Year's Eve party do a pantomime on the theme of opposition to the repression in Quebec.

They hitch-hiked, borrowed, to get to the convention

The participants in the YS/ LJS Convention travelled, in total, almost 180,000 miles to reach Montreal — an average of 1,200 miles per person.

They came by every possible method of transportation — regular and chartered buses, cars, trains, planes for those who could get youth fare. Two hitch-hiked (in mid-winter) from Saskatoon.

Financing the travel was a major campaign in itself. Vancouver Young Socialists silk-screened and sold Women's Liberation, Quebec Libre and Che flags. Other locals held auctions, dances and plain appeals for funds. YSers borrowed from parents, friends and anyone else they could find. They put their paychecks into a common fund. Selling crocheted scarfs helped in one area: in another, people worked right through Christmas in order to get New Year's off.

The capitalists and their allies may have most of the money, but the YS/ LJS has determination, and in the long run that's what's going to count.

in occupied Quebec



A big attraction at the convention was the display of revolutionary literature including the new pamphlet, "Free Quebec Political Prisoners".



Free the women prisoners was the theme of the New Year's Day demonstration at Janguay prison for victims of the War Measures Act. The convention, 200 strong, adjourned to take part.

Free the prisoners! Free Quebec!

(Excerpts from the resolution "Students and the Quebec Revolution" adopted by the convention.)

On the 16th of October, in the name of "law and order", the Canadian government proclaimed the War Measures Act. With machine guns in hand, a foreign army invaded Quebec territory. The Quebecois, scoffed at for more than 200 years, find themselves totally deprived of the rights they have constantly fought for.

Did the government fear the FLQ, a group of individuals who are isolated from the mass nationalist movement? Were the special laws designed simply to capture FLQers?

No. The deploying of repressive forces proves that the aim was to behead and stop the rise of Quebec independence, which calls into question the very basis of Canadian capitalism. The FLQ manifesto described, among other things, the conditions of life inflicted on the Quebecois. Even though they disagreed with the FLQ's methods, many Quebecois strongly identified with this description.

In Quebec, a key aspect of our oppression can be summed up by the one question: "Do you speak English?" This is a bread-and-butter question for the Quebecois, the vast majority of whom are French-speaking.

At the root of our oppression is a handful of foreign monopolies, leeches on our wealth. The Power Corporation, Iron Ore, Canadair, Noranda Mines, Alcan, G.M. and other monopolies, mostly American and English Canadian, have appropriated our riches, and control us.

In 1839 Lord Durham wrote: "The majority of

workers are of French origin, but are in the service of English capitalism." This situation has not changed in the twentieth century.

The only way to eliminate not only these injustices but their causes, is through the socialist revolution, by which the workers will take control of the political and economic structure of Quebec into their own hands.

To wipe out all oppression and injustice, we must destroy the capitalist order in Quebec, which is responsible for our national oppression. We must nationalize the foreign monopolies, those parasites on our resources and labor power; we must establish an independent Quebec under the leadership of the working class, the only class which has the power to do this, and the only class which has a fundamental interest in doing so.

A Quebecois workers' government will establish French as the only language at all levels — having abolished the monopolies which imposed their rules and language, the workers will have every interest in developing as a nation. Our economic wealth will be used to promote the development of our culture and language, by furnishing the technical basis for a technology and culture which assure strong links between Quebec and the French-speaking world.

Unemployment will disappear, pollution will be abolished, thousands of houses, schools, and hospitals will be built. Quebec's great wealth will be used to meet the needs of our people, rather than to enrich foreign capitalists.

The independence of Quebec means a Quebec independent of all foreign domination — that is, an independent and socialist Quebec.



ervised the convention proceedings.

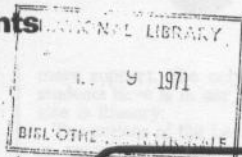


The convention comes to an end with the singing of the Internationale, traditional song of the revolutionary movement.

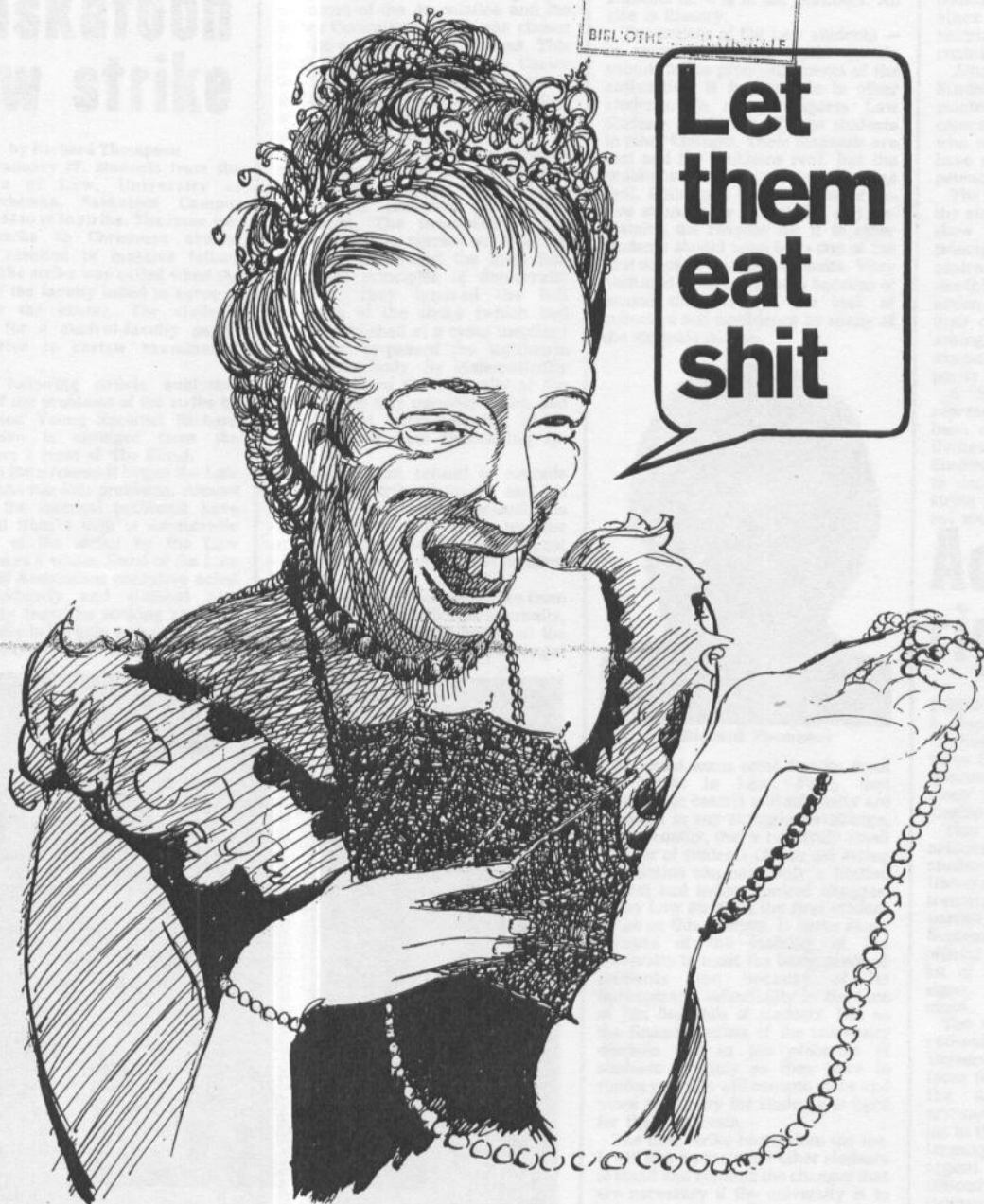
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**Let
them
eat
shit**



**Remember what happened
to Marie-Antoinette?**

Storm warnings...

Saskatoon law strike

by Richard Thompson

On January 27, students from the College of Law, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon Campus voted 144 to 19 to strike. The issue was the marks on Christmas exams, which resulted in massive failure rates. The strike was called when the dean of the faculty failed to agree to remark the exams. The students called for a student-faculty parity committee to review examination policy.

The following article analyzing some of the problems of the strike by Saskatoon Young Socialist Richard Thompson is abridged from the February 2 issue of *The Sheaf*.

From the moment it began the Law Strike has run into problems. Almost all of the internal problems have resulted from a lack of democratic control of the strike by the Law students as a whole. Some of the Law Students Association executive acted independently and without any authority from the striking students as a whole to bargain with Carter and his faculty.

The effect was to split the negotiations between two groups: members of the Association and the Strike Committee which was chosen for the purpose of negotiations. This dual negotiating gave Dean Carter the chance he needed. He was able to divide the students among themselves and introduce confusion into the ranks of the striking students.

Disagreements among law students about the conduct of the strike should be considered internal matters to be settled by students at general meetings. The members of the Association who carried out separate negotiations violated the most fundamental principles of democratic control: they ignored the full demands of the strike (which had been established at a mass meeting) and they by-passed the legitimate negotiating body. By systematically breaking down the solidarity of the strikers the tiny minority which had initially not supported the strike managed to gain increasing influence.

Carter's blunt refusal to concede any of the strike demands and his refusal to even consider seriously the demands as a whole shows us once again that the administration will not change its ways unless it has no other choice.

In order to prevent the strike from being isolated and divided internally, one essential step must be taken: the strike must move out creatively to get

more support. The only power that students have is in our numbers. All else is illusory.

The actions of the Law students — in refusing to once again quietly submit to the pronouncements of the authorities, is an example to other students. In many respects Law students are better off than students in other Colleges. Their demands are just and the problems real. But the problems of other students are just as real. Building a broader base of active support for the strike and explaining the reasons for it to other students should have been one of the first steps of the Law students. They hesitated to take this step because of second thoughts and the lack of collective self-confidence by many of the students in Law.



Richard Thompson

We must learn some lessons from the strike in Law. First, that democratic control and solidarity are essential in any struggle for change, and, secondly, that a relatively small number of students (200 or so) acting in isolation can have only a limited impact and induce limited changes.

The Law strike is the first student strike on this campus. It came about because of the inability of the university to meet the basic needs of students and because of its bureaucratic inflexibility in the face of just demands of students. But as the financial crisis of the university deepens and as the problems of students multiply as they have in recent years, it will become more and more necessary for students to fight for their interests.

The Law strike has broken the ice. It will now be easier for other students to stand and demand the changes that are necessary if the university is to serve the interest of students. But we must learn to stand together — even though we may have some differences — or we will get very little. The lessons of the Law strike are clear: our power is in our numbers, our solidarity must be based on student democracy.

Struggle for parity

WATERLOO — A general meeting of the Waterloo Lutheran University Student Union February 12 voted almost unanimously in favor of a motion calling for parity representation for students and faculty on committees which decide on the renewal or non-renewal of professors' contracts. If the demand is not met by February 26, a two-day student strike will be held.

The decision followed the refusal of the University Senate to allow any

student representation on such bodies. Students have been organizing since November to ensure the rehiring of certain professors whose contracts had not been renewed.

John Buote, President-elect of the Students' Administrative Council, pointed out that decisions regarding contracts are now made by people who never enter a classroom, who have no idea of a professor's competence as a teacher.

The SAC expects a large majority of the students to honor the strike, "to show unequivocal support for the principle of student participation in contract renewal situations." About one-third of the faculty support the action. Since they are required by their contracts to teach, the SAC is asking them to postpone essays and exams, and to conduct classes on the parity issue.

A "Strike for Parity" Committee, representing all departments, has been established to co-ordinate activities. A general meeting of the Student Union will take place March 3 to decide whether to continue the strike if the students' demands are not met.

Acadien rights

by Paul Joseph Gaudet

FREDERICTON — New Brunswick is often held up by the bilingualists as "a shining example of harmony between English and French." For the quarter million Acadiens, this harmony means only having to learn English.

This had led to growing Acadien national consciousness, and mass student struggles at Acadien Université and other colleges. Under tremendous pressure the government passed the Official Language Act in September, 1969, making French an official language. Besides confusing a lot of drivers with bilingual road signs, the Act didn't accomplish much.

The case of Michel Blanchard, a radical student leader at the Université de Moncton has become a focus for the simmering hostility of the Acadiens. Blanchard was arrested for his part in the student sit-ins in 1968. His request for a French-language trial was denied, as was his appeal. This despite the fact that the Official Language Act gives New Brunswickers the right to be tried in English or French.

The refusal of the government to abide by its own law touched off a series of demonstrations at Moncton this fall, demanding the right to French trials in fact as well as in theory. Blanchard went on a hunger strike in prison, and over one hundred Acadien students took part in a mock funeral procession November 26.

The protests have not been confined to the student movement. In one day alone the organizers of the demonstrations received letters of support from over 100 Acadiens and Acadiennes from all walks of life. One of the most militant letters came from a grade 10 class in Roberville, which

questioned not only the legal system but also the failure of the established Acadien organizations for not coming to Blanchard's defense. "Could it be to please certain 'grosses legumes' or because of certain prejudices against M. Blanchard? The time has ended for Acadiens to be hustled around by Anglairs. It is necessary to act and to act quickly for we can and we must obtain what we want." These statements represent the feelings of more and more Acadiens today.

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Socialism on tour

Young Socialists are busy touring the country building the women's liberation and student movements. Prior to February 13, Prairie Organizer Carole Oleniuk in the West and Organizational Secretary Kate Alderice in the East toured campuses speaking on women's liberation. Oleniuk's tour was instrumental in helping to build demonstrations for free abortion on demand in Winnipeg, Edmonton and Regina. She spoke on women's liberation and the right of women to control their own bodies to



Kate Alderice

large audiences in eight western cities. The high point of Kate Alderice's tour in the Atlantic provinces was a widely-reported meeting of 250 students at Memorial University in St. John's Nfld. Three new women's liberation groups were established as a result of the tour. During March, Executive-Secretary Joe Young will tour Canadian campuses speaking on "The University Crisis and the Socialist Alternative." Further information on the tour may be obtained by writing the YS/ LJS Central Office, 334 Queen Street West, Toronto, Ont.

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Joan Campana

UBC elects socialist

Young Socialist Joan Campana was elected "ombudswoman" of the University of British Columbia February 10. She received 1,700 more votes than her nearest opponent. Campana ran as a member of the radical "Human Government" slate. The position of "ombudswoman" is designed to process student grievances. "As UBC's first ombudswoman," Campana said, "I intend to raise the major questions students face — tuition, housing, discrimination against women, war research, and so on." Campana said that some members of the slate opposed her identifying herself as a socialist and raising these issues. "They seemed to think I would alienate students. I argued that these are the only really relevant issues on campus." The Young Socialists are running election campaigns on campuses across the country. At the University of New Brunswick two male YS candidates ran a campaign with the major point being for a women's liberation university and received 23 percent of the vote. YS Executive Secretary Joe Young says that "the campaigns are designed to help organize a mass socialist student movement in this country. We aren't interested in simply getting office — we want to mobilize students to change the universities."

York U. racist?

TORONTO - The racist nature of anthropology in Canada, was graphically revealed in early February by the refusal of the York University anthropology department to allow a full-year course to be taught on contemporary Canadian Indians. A half-year course is presently being taught by Roma Sandefer. She applied to have the course expanded to a full-year course, even though it would increase her course load above the required minimum. "There is so much material you could sit and read two years and not read everything," Sandefer said. "Lack of material is not a problem." The chairman of the department,

Gustav Thaiss, gave as an excuse for not allowing the expansion of the course the fact that another course on Indians in North America contains some material on Canadian Indians, as does a course on Anthropology and Development. He said that the department was not sure that it wanted to "go overboard to become a completely Canadian studies program."

Students back profs

VICTORIA — 3,000 angry students were unimpressed by the attempt of University of Victoria President Bruce Partridge to cool down student protests against the purging of 14 popular faculty members. The students brought their own sound system to a meeting called by Partridge, January 19. Partridge refused to explain the denial of tenure to the fourteen "in order to protect the faculty." One of the fourteen, Dick Martin, replied "I don't need to be protected." Partridge is refusing to cooperate with an in-

vestigation being conducted by the Canadian Association of University Teachers. The vice-chairman of the Board of Governors, Lloyd Mackenzie, showed the attitude of the administration when he commented, with reference to one of the placards carried by a student, "I am very impressed with the quality of education here. Not only can I find someone who can say bullshit, but I can also find someone who can spell it." "We found someone who can speak it," someone shouted. The heads of the Philosophy, French and Hispanic and Italian Studies joined the students in condemning the administration for denying tenure to the fourteen. Mary Trew of the Young Socialists posed the crucial questions to the administration. "I'd like to know when was the last time you gentlemen sat in a lecture bored out of your mind?" "I'd like to know when this university is going to be run in our interests and not in the interest of almighty big business?" "I'd like to know how long you gentlemen expect to maintain your stronghold at this university without blowing it wide open?" The administration was unable to answer the questions because of the loud cheering of the 3,000 students.

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The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it.

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What makes Uncle Sammy run?

In Southeast Asia, p.5
... and Canada, p.13

SFU, Trent U elect

Simon Fraser: 'students really knew the issues'

by Grant Hargreave
MIDNIGHT, MARCH 18.

The feeling here tonight in the Young Socialists' headquarters is one of pure elation. It is the windup of yet another YS election campaign, but this time there's a difference: We've just heard that Linda Meissenheimer, leading member of the Vancouver Young Socialists and in her first semester at Simon Fraser University, has been elected president of SFU student council.

The last votes saw Meissenheimer beat out incumbent president Norm Wickstrom. Ron Dickson, Meissenheimer's running mate, lost but received 35 percent of the vote.

There is little doubt as to the impact of the YS campaign. Students really knew the issues. Large red lettered election posters called the campus to action against the Indochina war, and in support of the woman's liberation struggle, the right of Quebec to self-determination, and for student-faculty-staff control of the university. Meissenheimer received an enthusiastic response when she spoke on

these points at the large election rallies.

That much is familiar. Young Socialists have been running on that program of student action across the country. "An end to playpen politics," the leaflets ran, "let's take the lead in mobilizing students to change the university and society."

"What has changed on SFU," someone asked, "Here is this university, having gone through the severe defeat of the Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology (PSA) department struggle for democratization of the university, slumbering for the last two years, and now electing a young socialist president!"

Meissenheimer, who is sitting turning over ideas for the coming year triumphantly says "Well, we've always said that our program was the one that could lead students into action."

"The Peak, Simon Fraser's student paper, saw that we were the alternative to two years of moderate control of the council. The front page coverage that they gave to Ron



SFU president Linda Meissenheimer, with UBC ombudswoman Joan Campana and VCC candidate Bob Simms. Dickson and myself certainly helped."

Young Socialists from the three Vancouver campuses are discussing coordinated action they can take next school year. Press releases are being written for local press and radio stations: "If you want to treat symptoms" it states, "There are plenty of dance committee types running. If you want a program that calls for student power, the only option is the Young Socialists."

Joan Campana, Young Socialist just elected to the University of British Columbia Students' Council as their first ombudswoman, and Bob Simms running at Vancouver City College for academic representative, are projecting ideas of wide

educational and action programs for all three campus. Weeks of anti-war and women's liberation activity take form.

"We can try to get Ernest Mandel, Bernadette Devlin, and all sorts of speakers out here. We talked yesterday of the resurgence of the student movement," says Meissenheimer. "And how the Young Socialists are taking a lead in it. Now we are even more confident this is happening."

On into the night. Press releases are being delivered, pictures taken. Along with Young Socialists from St. John's Newfoundland to Victoria, B.C., the YS is moving ahead. Student council elections are only one aspect of the YS promise to lead the struggle to transform the university and society.

Trent: 'student, faculty, support staff control'

The March student council elections at Trent University marked one of the most significant events in Canadian student politics this year. The results say a lot about the student radicalization and about the things to come.

The Trent Young Socialists, founded in December, ran candidates in all four colleges there. With results from three of the colleges in at time of printing, the YS had come extremely close to winning in two of them. In the

third, the largest, Champlain College, the YS candidates were elected! The new president is Doug Croker; Vice-president is Michel Trudeau and the second Vice-president is Bob Tapscott.

We interviewed Doug Croker and Michel Trudeau shortly after the election.

YS: Why did you run?

Doug: The election presented an opportunity to express our ideas to the students at Trent. It also provided a

chance to find out what students here are thinking — whether the apparent apathy was because they didn't want to deal with real issues, or whether they were fed up, or what. And we hoped to win, to make the student government into a tool, to initiate actions and inform and mobilize students.

YS: What was the program that you ran on?

Michel: The first thing was student-faculty-staff control of the university. And we ran on building a democratically elected student government, which, by the way, doesn't exist now at Trent. Thirdly we proposed democratizing and politicizing the university as a whole. YS: Why do you think the student government at Trent has been irrelevant?

Doug: It hasn't been dealing with issues that affect students. Whereas we plan to take up issues which are relevant to students' lives like unemployment, fees, and parity. And at Trent we have a particular problem because we have no central student government. What we have is just a coordinating committee, created by the different college cabinets. This tends to produce a real elitist body that's isolated from the students.

What we want here is a central student government which is elected by the students on a mandate to initiate change here and help unite students to fight for their interests. YS: Why do you call for student-faculty-support staff control of the university?

Michel: We think that the people who live, work and study here, should be the ones to determine what goes on here. But the fact is now that the university serves to meet the particular demands of capitalism. So, the decisions that make the university what it is, are made by those people who control this capitalist society.

Doug: As well as enabling us to attack Trent problems like course content and the type of teaching,

student-faculty-support staff control would present a chance for the university to become a base for social change. We who live and work here could use the university in our interests and in the interests of the majority of people in Canada.

YS: Why do you think the students voted for you?

Doug: People were dissatisfied with the type of student government at Trent. We posed a clear alternative to what was happening. And we talked about issues that were relevant. The fact that we were the best prepared and the best organized, helped too.

YS: What do you think it shows that students elected socialists candidates?

Doug: Well it shows that they aren't afraid to accept radical ideas. And it shows that they've become so concerned and apprehensive about what is, that they want the alternative — the power to control their lives.

YS: What do you intend to do?

Michel: The first thing is to start implementing the program that we were elected on. We'll inform students about our progress and consult them as to where we should go from there. Secondly, we want to begin working the student sector back into society.

coordinate our activities with the different student councils and groups across the country. Thus we can start to end the isolation and the fragmentation of the student movement and unite to fight for change.

YS: Just for a concrete example, the government has just announced that they are going to raise tuition fees and cut back enrollment. What could you do about this?

Doug: We can inform students about the cutbacks and fees and explain why the government is doing it. As well we can perhaps work with other university councils in building united actions. And we can use our facilities to mobilize students and present demands to the government.



"Pssst. wanna buy a dirty newspaper?"

Last month's YOUNG SOCIALIST caused a hassle all over the place. Seems when Trudeau says "Let them eat shit," it's okay, but it isn't nice to have a picture of him saying it on your front page.

In Barrie, a high school vice-principal confiscated a bundle of the paper as "obscene" and in Hamilton a cop tried to stop a YS salesman from selling on the street for the same reason.

But on the other hand, the paper was sold out in most parts of the country within two weeks, something of a record.

So make sure you get your copy regularly — don't take a chance that the cops or the principals or other readers get there first. Subscribe.

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Young Socialists

U of Toronto campaign shakes up the campus

The Young Socialists tripled their vote in the Students' Administrative Council elections this year at the traditionally conservative University of Toronto winning ten percent across the campus. In one school, Architecture, the YS candidates polled the highest vote.

The Young Socialists ran five candidates, for president and vice-president, and for representatives from colleges. The executive candidates were Alice Klein and Katie Curtin, the only women in the race.

The campaign was one of the most ambitious and unorthodox ever run on the campus. In addition to the meetings and speakouts of the campaign, some 1000 posters were pasted around campus, and 6000 copies of the "Liberated Varsity", a four-page tabloid styled after the official U. of T. paper, were distributed.

The following are excerpts from the "Liberated Varsity."

The only alternative

For the past year we have had a Students Administrative Council which made a virtue of its own irrelevancy. Instead of overcoming its isolation from the student body, SAC discussed the problem.

Endlessly.

SAC had the chance. The Parity campaign gave these Simcoe Hall radicals a chance to show what they could do.

As usual, they did as little as possible.

They could have come in behind the fight for an abortion birth control center on campus. They could have devoted part of their enormous resources to that campaign, which is vital to the lives of thousands of U. of T. students.

But of course they didn't.

Or they could have mobilized against big business control of the university, or the Americanization of our education.

Or anything.

They didn't even talk a good fight.

The Young Socialist candidates don't believe that SAC can carry these campaigns by itself. In fact, so long as SAC is isolated from student needs and campaigns, it can't do anything.

The only way that the university can be changed is by mass student action.

SAC is the logical body to organize and build such action. It is elected by all the students. It has the resources. It has the personnel.

What it needs is a program, and a commitment to change.

The Young Socialists aren't running because we think we can run better dances and social activities than everyone else, although we probably can. We're running because U. of T. SAC has to become a fighting organization instead of a training ground for corporate bureaucrats.

In this campaign you have a real choice. You have candidates who have a 'more of the same' program with a small structural change here and there. You have candidates who were on last year's SAC and took part in the sinking of the parity struggle. And you have the Young Socialists.

The choice is pretty obvious. If you want another do-nothing SAC, there are candidates you can vote for. It doesn't really matter which ones.

But if you want a SAC that fights to transform the university into a center for education instead of indoctrination, that fights for a university which acts to build a more humane society, then the Young Socialists are your only choice.

If you elect us, we don't intend to leave you alone. We don't intend to disappear. Because only you can change the university. SAC can only help.

And if you don't elect us, we still won't disappear. We'll keep on fighting for the program we're raising in this election.

How many other candidates can say that?

Parity with power

Here stands the University of Toronto — an altar to wisdom, to great men. "May it grow like a tree." An institution which trains people for jobs that don't exist. Archives that treasure a golden past of contented Indians and the "glorious dead" of World War II. Departments that hire men in preference to women, often Americans in preference to Canadians. Laboratories that innovate for a genocidal war in Indochina. Departmental research devoted to supporting management against labor.

And the great men on the Board of Governors — the men who made it, the men who are part of the system the way none of us will ever be — sit back and make decisions. Tuition is going up. Enrollment is being cut back. Housing is inadequate. What do they care? They've got it made.

Wonderful, isn't it. The ivory tower. A place to stand, a place to grow. Twenty years of school and then they put you on the day shift.

Except that there aren't any jobs available, and the majority of Canadians can't afford to go to university, the university pollutes the air, and our education and our university only serve the corporations.

Student-faculty control. Parity. Fine words. You won't find a candidate who opposes them. But then ask them what they mean. Ask them what they'll do about it.

Student faculty control doesn't mean committees. It doesn't mean talking endlessly. It doesn't mean committee reports that say they favor parity but which put students in a minority.

Student-faculty control means taking over the university and turning it around. Tell the Board of Governors to jump in the Archives. Abolish tuition fees, get free student housing and organize the whole university to tell the government to put up or resign.

Student-faculty control means establishing courses that deal with Canadian reality. Women's oppression. The Native people. War research off campus. Unemployment. Pollution and poverty and war. All the things that the university talks about seldom and does nothing about.

Student-faculty control means

YOUNG SOCIALISTS

For parity with power:
student-faculty control

For a women's
liberation university



VOTE Alice Klein -pres Katie Curtin -vice
Mike Edwards - rep. Innis Dale Ritch - Erindale
José Garcia - Erindale
Up against the wall Simcoe Hall

running the university in the interests of the students and faculty, democratically. The professors don't have anymore real power than we do, because they don't control the purse strings. Together with the faculty we have to take that power.

On March 19 Michel Chartrand is coming to Toronto to speak at a meeting organized to protest the political repression in Quebec. If we controlled the university we would turn the whole thing over to him. We would give him the use of the mimeos, the telephones, the libraries the lecture halls, the newspapers in order to organize the massive campaign to free the political prisoners.

We aren't after democracy in the abstract.

We are for student-faculty control because it creates the possibility of a university which serves the interests of the majority of Canadians, rather than the tiny minority of men who rule Canada.

That's why Bissell called the parity demand "revolutionary".

Only mass student action can make that possible.

Women's liberation

Why are the Young Socialists the only women running for the top posts on SAC? Why was the same true last year?

Why do women make up less than 10 percent of the faculty? Why is a woman engineering student considered a freak?

Everyone knows that the university discriminates against women, that it perpetuates the myth of women's inferiority. We are supposed to be thankful that we are tolerated in Hart House (with an escort, of course), thankful that we are allowed here at all. We are so completely steeped in the web of lies about our inferiority that we rarely even complain. How wonderful to be able to come to U of T to learn about the great men of the past and to be with the men who will make the future.

So what?

So we've had enough. U of T has to stop propping up the system that oppresses us. It has to tell the truth for a change. If we're so inferior, why does the school system spend so much time talking about it, trying to convince us. Why won't they tell us that the cotton gin was invented by a woman, that Eli Whitney stole the glory? They've taken away our history — the history of the women who built this country, the history of the foremothers among the Native people who played key roles in pre-European society.

The university must fight the oppression of 51 percent of humanity. We need a women's liberation university.

2 poems

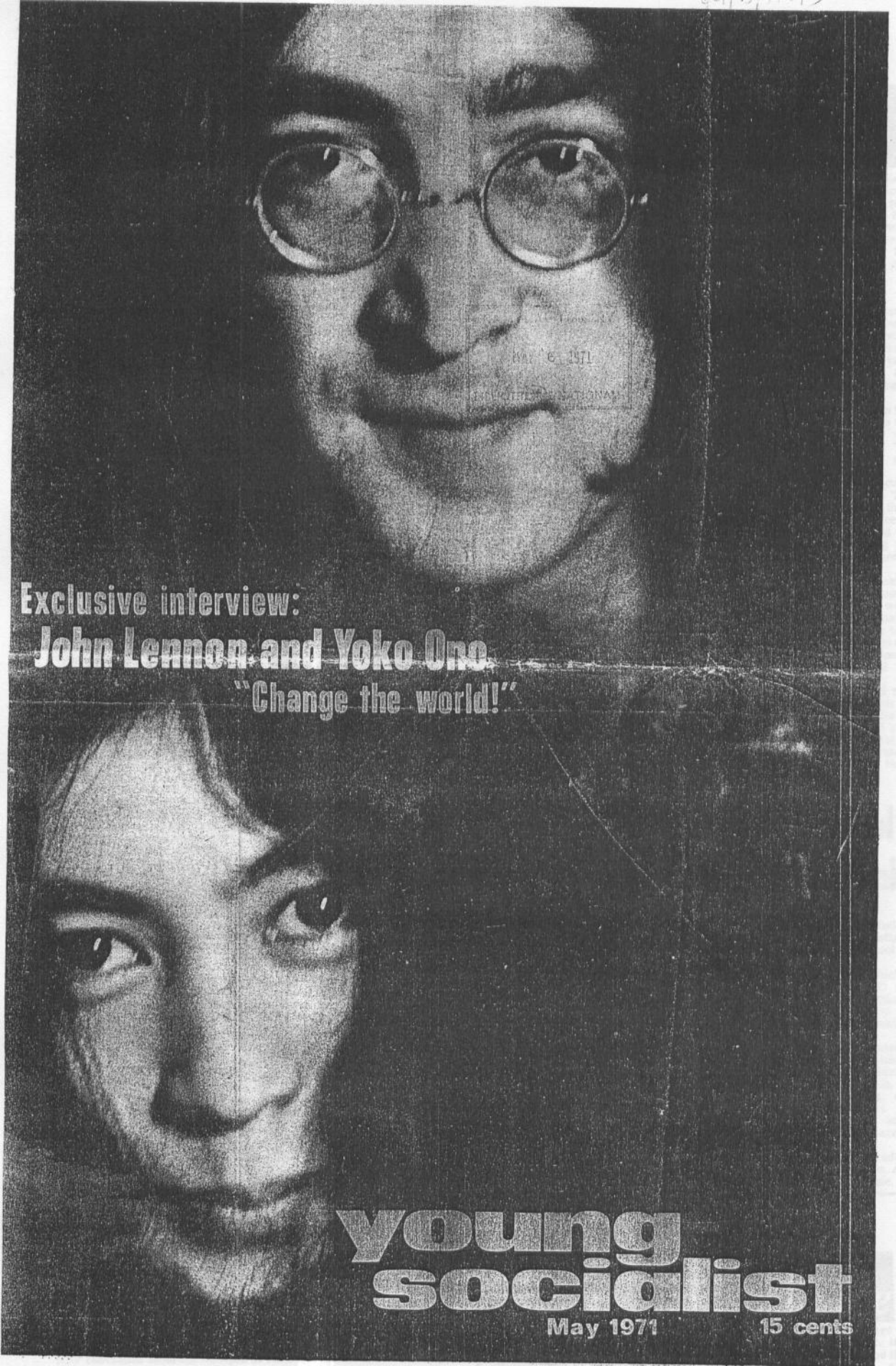
*You struggle to voice your opinion,
yet the law of education
forms a blockade.*

*What is religion and education?
They are ideas like yours,
do they acknowledge you?
Watch your ideas crumble,
and bow before them.
How did such antiquity survive?*

*Through your inspiration,
my friend, a revolution is
a flame.*

*You fear his mind
and send into exile
the cream of youth.
A new regime shall rise.
It shall overrun and destroy
the world of blind obedience.*

by Gary Paterson



Exclusive interview:

John Lennon and Yoko Ono

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May 1971

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STORM WARNINGS

YS at NDP Convention

by Al Cappe

The number of youth who came to the New Democratic Party convention in Ottawa and the impressive support of the Waffle demonstrated how the NDP is reflecting the growing radicalization in Canada. But another illustration of the radicalization within the NDP was the response to the Young Socialists who participated in the convention as delegates, alternates and visitors.

The YS sold two hundred dollars worth of literature, most notably 150 copies of the pamphlet *For an Independent and Socialist Quebec* and 200 copies of the *Young Socialist*. Students from Galt, Windsor, and Cornwall arranged meetings with the Young Socialists to set up Young Socialist locals in their areas.

As a matter of fact the YS was well received by every one but the brass of the party who had the YS literature table closed down by the security guards on the third day of the convention. The guards, who threatened to bring in the city cops also seized the literature when the YS refused to shut the booth down. Within an hour the YS had a petition and an open letter to delegates and convention authorities circulating on the floor of the convention condemning this attack on the democracy of the party and calling for the right of the YS to sell its literature. The petition was signed by over 500 delegates including leadership candidates Jim Laxer, Ed Broadbent, and Frank Howard. The issue was taken to the floor and although a YS received the support of 300 delegates the vote was lost.

But the YS never stopped selling its papers, hawking pamphlets, attending Waffle caucus meetings and building the anti-war demonstration that delegates attended during a break in the sessions. The YS participated as the only revolutionary student movement that supports the NDP.



York University students confront Dean Slater during Social Science 177 exam boycott last month. The students, who sat in outside the examination room, succeeded in cancelling out the exam. Among the students here are York Young Socialists Terry Fobert (left) and Ken Wolfson (right) along with Toronto YS organizer Al Cappe (behind Wolfson).

Sask. students fight cutback

by Monica Jones

In Saskatchewan the Thatcher government is making drastic cutbacks in the education budget. Students are organizing to protest the cutbacks that will in some cases make their classes as large as 40 or 50 students, and in other cases they will lose teachers or whole courses.

At City Park Collegiate in Saskatoon the students circulated a petition and got 400 signatures out of the 500 students who make up the student body. They also hanged Premier Ross Thatcher in effigy from the flagpole.

I talked to two of students from Nutana Collegiate, Bill Peterson and Connie Rugg who are also organizing against the cutbacks. I asked Bill what the cutback would mean for Nutana: "We will be losing three teachers as well as one who is on

leave and originally it meant dropping Geography and Art. But over half the students who take these subjects have expressed the view that they want them back."

I asked him how the students were organizing and he answered: "First of all the student action was petitioning and getting parents involved. The school board has allotted a half-time teacher, tentatively, and a couple of teachers have volunteered to take a 100 percent teaching load to teach geography. If this works out the student protests and staff and parent protests have got Art and Geography back — that's our main concern."

"The teachers held two mass meetings on the cut-backs and the parents came with us to the school board. I think we've had fairly good action so far. The school board has never had delegations before."

I asked Bill what he thought of the school board's statement that the action taken at Nutana was premature.

"I went to the school board and they said it was premature because we didn't have proof on paper that there would be cutbacks. But if we had left it longer nothing could have been done. And we did have proof on paper. Our course selection sheets didn't have Geography or Art on them. If there had not been protests, Geography and Art would not be here. It's as simple as that."

I asked Connie if she was impressed by what the students did when they found out they were losing the classes and teachers: "Yes I was. It was the first time, I'd say, that students got together and did something about a situation. Students, teachers and parents agreed on something. It was really remarkable."

Halifax cops worried

by Will Offley

Interest in the Halifax-Dartmouth local of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes has taken on new strength with the recent appearance of the Halifax City Police, who for the first time have picked up a member, Rick Swinimar for private questioning and just general harassment.

That interest seems to have stemmed from the recent flood of

demonstrations that have taken place here, the visit of both Jacques Larue-Langlois and Michel Chartrand, plus the active role that the YS LJS has played in organizing around such issues as the April 24 anti-war demonstrations, the defence of the political prisoners in Quebec, and women's liberation.

Rick Swinimar's Account of the incident follows:

"I was just leaving school grounds at J.L. Illsley High School when I noticed a car apparently following me. This, it turned out, was manned by two city detectives, who very courteously asked me to 'get in'. Seeing no harm and having nothing to hide, I did just that."

"No sooner had I sat down than the questions began to fly — 'What is the YS?' 'How many members do you have?' 'Are you Communists?' 'Do you support the FLQ?' 'Are you violent?'"

"I answered these as best I could, trying to keep a straight face. The most comical thing was the way their questions kept looking for secret answers which did not exist, and the pain on their faces on hearing the same answers that they'd heard a thousand times before."

"I finally ended it off by asking what their opinion of YS/LJS was at the moment. The answer went something as follows: 'All Socialist organizations are the same. The only people they recruit are those who are too lazy to work.' They obviously haven't been keeping up with the YS/LJS lately."

Perhaps the best way to end this article is by giving a few words of advice to our friendly police force. 1) do some homework on the YS LJS (our literature is both easy to obtain and inexpensive, and 2) get ready, because the Young Socialists have only begun.

Wpg. school votes radical

by Mike Carmody

Another victory for the student movement was chalked up recently at Victoria Composite High School in Edmonton.

The Human Survival Club (which is a radical political club at Vic) ran candidates in the school elections. The campaigning was hard and the club presented their ideas instead of their personalities.

When all the votes were counted it was the survival slate candidate, Gene Shelly, who was elected president. As well, Joan Cameron, the only Young Socialist running, was elected by acclamation as the Assemblies Board Rep. The other club candidates lost by narrow margins.

The victory shows how fast radical ideas are being accepted at Vic. And it's a warning of things to come.



Part of Toronto Anti-War demonstration April 25. The demonstrations that took place around the world April 24-25 were the largest ever, reflecting the overwhelming opposition to U.S. aggression in S.E. Asia. Demonstrations took place across Canada from St. John's Nfld. to Victoria, B.C. In Ottawa, NDP convention adourned the April 24 session to enable 2,000 delegates to participate in a rally against the war.

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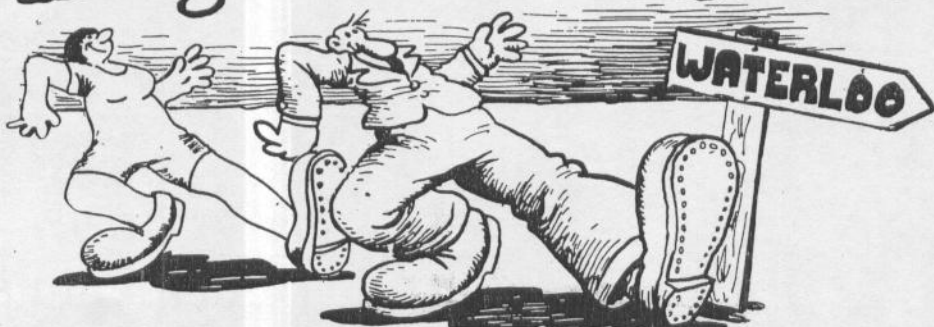
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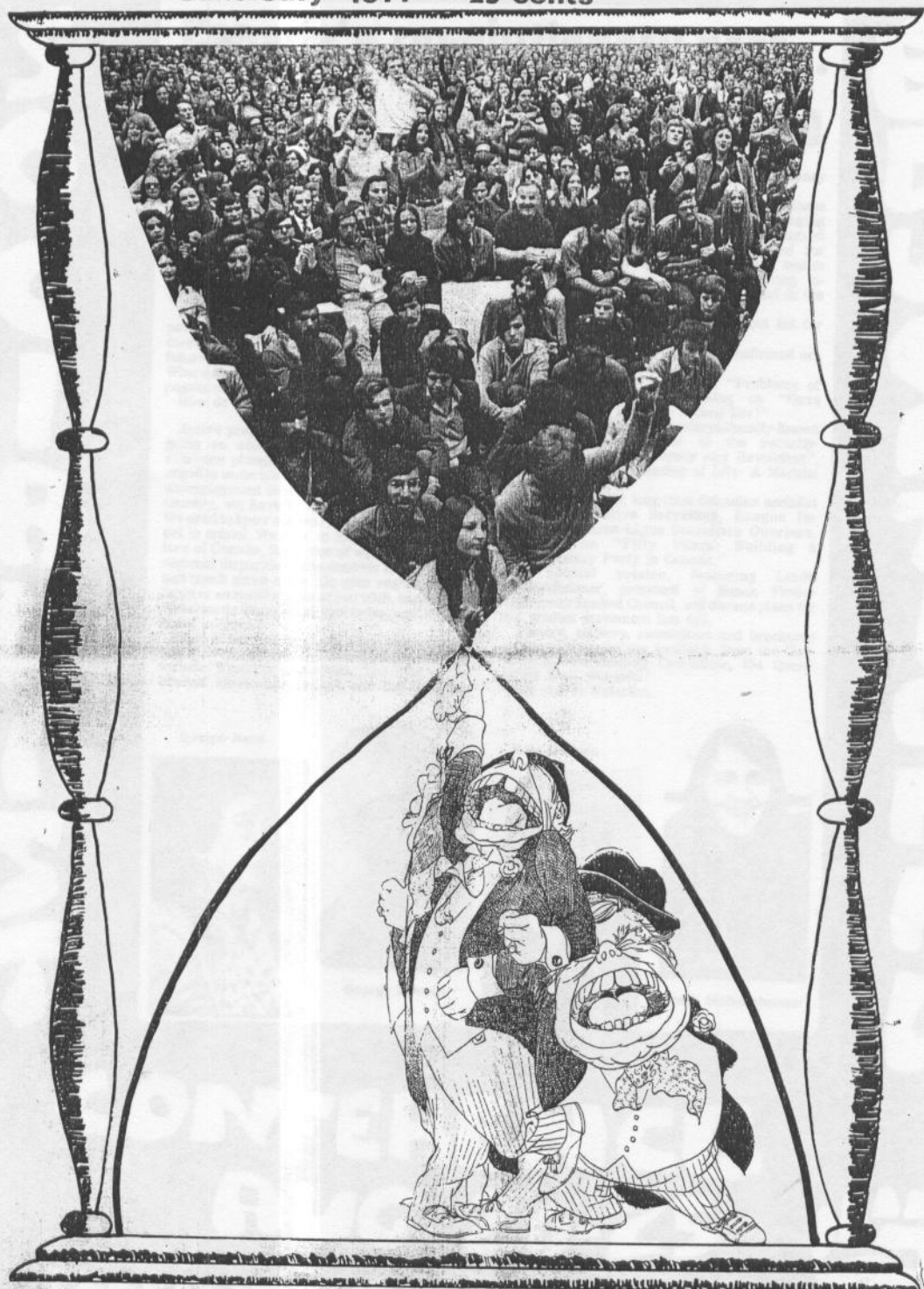
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CANADA



Waterloo is coming!

1971 CROSS CANADA

Canada's revolutionary past... ...and future

by Kate Alderdice
Conference Co-ordinator

It doesn't matter if you walk, drive, bicycle or hitch-hike. Just be in Waterloo, Ontario, on Friday August 20.

The University of Waterloo campus has been booked for the first Cross-Canada Socialist Educational Conference. Not since the collapse of the Canadian Union of Students has a radical conference of this scope been planned.

Five days of discussions, lectures, workshops, parties, films and much more. The theme of the conference is "Canada's revolutionary past and future." How did we get where we are now? Where do we go from here? How can Canadians regain control of their country?

How do we make a revolution?

Active preparation for the conference is now going on across the country. In particular, everyone planning to attend the conference is urged to undertake research projects during this unemployment summer. In order to change this country, we have to understand it thoroughly. We need to know our real history, not the slop we get in school. We need to know the class structure of Canada, the status of women, the role of regional disparities, who controls the compuses, and much much more. Do your research on as large or as small a topic as you wish, and come to Waterloo to share what you've learned. Or just come to learn.

Each of the five days will begin with a major talk by a Canadian or Quebecois socialist. Topics include Women's Liberation, The Rise of the Student Movement, Quebec and the Canadian

Revolution, and Building a Revolutionary Movement.

Each afternoon will be devoted to workshops and other small group sessions on topics ranging from the Suffragist movement to Marxist Economics. Evenings will be reserved for special events — guest speakers, parties, and so on. And there will be time for swimming, informal discussion, and just lying around in the sun.

Cost of the conference will be about \$35 for each participant.

Among the speakers definitely confirmed are the following:

EVELYN REED, author of "Problems of Women's Liberation", speaking on "Have Women Always Been the Second Sex?"

GEORGE NOVACK, internationally-known socialist scholar, author of the recently-published book "Democracy and Revolution", speaking on "The Meaning of Life: A Marxist Analysis".

ROSS DOWSON, long-time Canadian socialist leader, Executive Secretary, League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, speaking on "Fifty Years: Building a Revolutionary Party in Canada."

A special session, featuring Linda Meissenheimer, president of Simon Fraser University Student Council, will discuss plans for the student movement this fall.

Posters, stickers, newsletters and brochures on the conference are available from the Conference Co-ordinating Committee, 334 Queen Street West, Toronto.

See you in Waterloo.

Evelyn Reed



George Novack

Ross Dowson



Linda Meissenheimer

CONFERENCE AUG. 20-25 UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

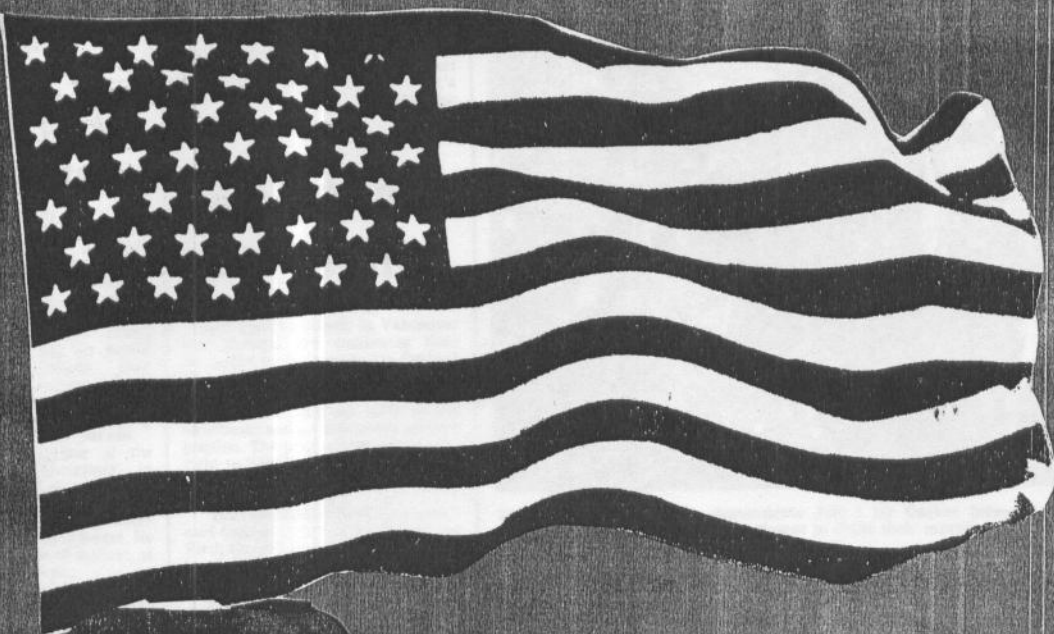


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August 1971 15 cents



The Canadian representative should again stress that U.S. policy is... He should reiterate that the U.S.... He should repeat that the U.S.... He can again refer... He can hint at...."

-Pentagon Papers

Trudeau's Pentagon Orders -Accomplice in Genocide

STORM WARNINGS

Canada day in Edmonton

by Don Wiley

On July 1 in Edmonton, the businessmen and their political representatives, including the mayor of the city and the lieutenant-governor of the province, had to listen for a change to the real story of Canada. Hearing that the Young Socialists were planning an action countering the Canada Day celebrations, the organizers of the events decided to allow the YS to speak at their official city hall rally and to participate in their parade.

Dave Pohlko, organizer of the Edmonton Young Socialists, in speaking to the crowd of a few hundred people, told of that part of the lives of Canadians that the organizers of the event would like us to forget. He spoke of the oppression of women, of native people, of workers.

In particular he spoke of the oppression of the Quebecois and their struggle against the very state that these businessmen and their politicians had come together to praise.

"The history of the Canadian state is the history of the ongoing oppression of the Quebec nation," said Pohlko. "The October (War Measures Act) crisis is merely one of the latest events in this story... The whole propaganda campaign that is being carried on with slogans such as 'Canada — stand together, understand together' is intended to work against the Quebec independentist movement.

"The Young Socialists express solidarity with our sisters and brothers in Quebec who are today marching for the independence of their nation."

In the parade of bands and flower-covered floats that followed the speeches, the presence of the Young Socialists was again evident. For the YS had constructed their own float. It consisted of a jail labelled 'Canada', and, within the jail, a prisoner named 'Quebec'. A number of people joined the YS marchers, including a few Quebecois students.

Carrying patriot flags and signs demanding the release of the political prisoners and calling for an in-

dependent, socialist Quebec, the marchers chanted "Ce n'est qu'un début; continuons le combat" — It's only the beginning; continue the struggle.

High school birth control

by Katie Curtin

High school students in Vancouver and Toronto are continuing their campaign for birth control in the high schools through the summer. Vancouver students have set up a booth on the beach to hand out birth control handbooks and get signatures on their petition. The petitions demanding the right to birth control for high school students will be presented to the boards of education.

"The reaction has been favorable," said Colleen Glynn of the Vancouver Birth Control Rights Committee. The booth had 37 persons in 45 minutes stop and talk and sign the petition.

When asked why the board refused to consider providing birth control when so many people were in favor of it she replied, "I think the reason for



Vancouver high school students hand out birth control pamphlets on the beach.

this is that most school board members are male, property owners and aristocrats. They don't know what it's like to be in the situations that face high school women."

The Toronto Birth Control Rights Committee, which has just acquired a new headquarters on University of Toronto, is preparing a brief to



Three thousand Quebecois demonstrate July 1 for Quebec independence showing the failure of Trudeau's attempt to crush their movement with the War Measures Act and continuing repression.

present to the boards of education and distributing birth control handbooks. Both committees are building support for the fall when they hope to change the present situation where pregnancy is one of the chief, if not the chief cause of high school women dropping out of school.

Second YS student pres.

by Suzanne

President, Vancouver City College
The Vancouver Young Socialists won another student council election victory last month, the third this year. YS candidate Suzanne was elected President of Vancouver City College on a program which includes student-faculty control of education, women's liberation and struggle against the war in Vietnam.

Earlier this year the YS had elected Linda Meissenheimer President of the Simon Fraser University Student Council, and Joan Campana Ombudswoman of the University of British Columbia.

The atmosphere has radically changed on campus. Suzanne won an overwhelming victory over an opponent who, when asked what his program was, replied: "whatever you want it to be." Two years ago this opponent would have been voted in. But now the VCC council is composed of radicals including Suzanne, two feminists, a gay liberationist, and a Yippee.

Antiwar conference

by Joe Young

The first cross-Canada anti-war conference has been called the Vietnam Mobilization Committee for Aug. 6-7 in Toronto. The conference has gained wide-sponsorship including David Lewis, Federal Leader of the NDP, Melville Watkins of the NDP Waffle, Rabbi Feinberg, Dennis McDermott, Canadian Director of the United Automobile Workers, John Steele, of the League for Socialist Action, Joe Young of the Young Socialists, and Alf Dewhurst, Communist Party. Among the participating organizations are the Board of Education and Social Service of

the United Church, a number of student Councils, and the Toronto Women's Caucus.

The response to the conference is the broadest ever indicating the impact of the Pentagon Papers. The conference will be kicked off Friday night by a rally featuring Dr. E. Long Secretary, United Church General Council, Melville Watkins, and a representative of the National Peace Action Coalition of the USA followed by a torch-light parade to the U.S. consulate.

Saturday's session will include panels on Canada's complicity in the war, an address by representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, workshops and a plenary session which will vote on fall action proposals. The conference will be open to everyone on a one vote, one person basis.

To build the conference the Vietnam Mobilization Committee has issued a special leaflet, an issue of the Mobilizer exposing Canada's complicity in light of the Pentagon papers and is touring the film "Interviews with My Lai veterans."

For more information about how to help build the conference contact the VMC, 241 Victoria St., 863-0494. Toronto, Ont.

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Edmonton Young Socialists float in the official Canada Day July 1 parade

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REPEAL ABORTION LAWS



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Abortion: a woman's right - p. 3
How to make a revolution - p. 7
Canadian student strategy - p. 10

Student, abortion, anti-war, Quebecois activists meet

by The Editors

This issue of *Young Socialist* is largely devoted to reports, speeches and articles from the Cross-Canada Socialist Educational Conference held in Waterloo Ontario August 20-25.

We helped publicize and organize the Conference, and we attended, along with more than four hundred other activists from every part of Canada.

The Conference was the largest gathering of its kind in memory. It was larger, better organized and more exciting than the conferences that the Canadian Union of Students used to hold. What was especially impressive was not the simple numbers of people present, but who those people were.

They were leaders. Not leaders chosen from on high and imposed on the "youth groups" of the churches and the establishment, but grass roots leaders of the most important movements in the country.

You could walk through the foyer of the Arts Lecture Hall of the University of Waterloo and see the President of Simon Fraser University Student Council talking to a leader of a caucus of militant trade unionists in Toronto. Or a leader of the fight for abortion law repeal in Winnipeg talking to the socialist, independentist candidate for mayor of Montreal.

Every major section of the new radicalization was represented. Women's liberation. The antiwar movement. The people who organized opposition to the War Measures Act. Gay liberation. The Waffle. High School activists.

They brought their experiences, their ideas and their questions. And for five days Waterloo was changed from a degree factory into a center for genuine education. More than that, into a center for organizing social change.

It was impossible to attend all of the sessions. You could hear George

Novack on the Meaning of Life, Evelyn Read on Have Women Always Been the Second Sex and Sean Kenny of the IRA on The Struggle for Freedom in Northern Ireland. And Richard Thompson on the student movement, Jacque Henderson on Women's liberation, Ross Dowson on the early years of the Canadian revolutionary socialist movement. Often as many as five events were going on at once.

And people still found time for parties, discussions, football and frisbies.

The conference marked the fiftieth anniversary of the Canadian Communist Party. The CP of today, a docile agent of Moscow's foreign



Linda Blackwood tells conference of the campaign in Manitoba for legal abortion.

policy, bears no resemblance to that early movement of idealistic, dedicated fighters for a better world. In fact the majority of the early leaders of the Communist Party later joined the fight against Stalinism, and founded the movement which met in 1971 in Waterloo.

It was most obvious in the campaigns that were launched. The participants fully supported the fall offensives of the antiwar and abortion law repeal movements.

At the conference the editorial boards of *Young Socialist*, *Labor Challenge*, and *Liberation* agreed to launch a joint Canada-wide subscription drive for four thousand new readers. This will be the largest such drive ever held in Canada.

But the most inspiring session and event of all, the session that showed what it was all about, took place the evening of August 22. There the announcement was made that a quarterly magazine of revolutionary socialist theory would be launched in Canada this Winter.

But there was a big "If..." in the announcement. It would be carried out only if enough money could be raised to make the magazine possible. It was estimated that \$4,800 would be needed in the first year. To start raising the money, symbolic "pages" of the magazine were sold at \$100 each.

Bear in mind that none of the participants was rich. They were workers and students and unemployed.

But within twenty minutes, nearly seven thousand dollars was raised for the new magazine.

That is what the new radicalization — and therefore this conference — is all about. Dedication and commitment. Willingness to organize, to sacrifice, to build for a better world. To do whatever is necessary to put capitalism into the garbage can of history.



Waterloo / Cross-Canada So



Photos by Cyril MacInnis and Steve Harding



To the moon and back

Participants in the Waterloo Conference travelled, in total, a distance equal to a voyage to the moon, around three times, and back again.

427 people registered, though more took part in some sessions. They came from every part of Canada, and from four other countries. (France, England, USA, New Zealand)

Thirty-two Quebecois activists were able to take part thanks to a simultaneous translation system operated entirely by volunteers.

The average age was 25. 60 per cent were workers, 32 per cent students.

They came from 40 Canadian towns and cities, from Chetwynd, B.C. to St. Johns, Nfld.

Never has a Canadian conference devoted so much attention to women's liberation. 40 per cent of the participants were women. Women spoke or chaired at virtually every session.

Each day volunteers helped prepare and serve two full hot meals for every participant.

There were more than forty speeches and talks, dozens of workshops, and uncountable discussions.

"Socialism - the biggest jailbreak in history."

by Phil Courneyeur

Each morning conference participants heard major talks by leading Canadian socialist activists. The following are major excerpts from "How to Make A Revolution in Canada", a talk by Phil Courneyeur. Phil is Education Director of the League for Socialist Action.

The coming Canadian and Quebecois revolution will remember this conference as a milestone along the path to victorious workers power. We're marking fifty years of revolutionary struggle in Canada, fifty years of lessons on "how to make the revolution." There are rich lessons from those five decades. The past ten years have been critical, in many ways.

This is the deepest radicalization in Canadian history and is part of the deepest radicalization throughout the world. Revolutionists are called upon, more than ever before, to advance a strategy for victory, because before the radicalization spends itself masses of people will come face to face with the biggest question of all — who will rule the world? What class has the power to overturn capitalism and build a new socialist society? And how will the oppressed have to organize themselves in order to assure their victory?

Our perspective is based on our understanding of the actuality, the reality of revolutionary struggles today — both internationally and in Canada, and in the revolutionary potential and indispensable role of the working class in making the revolution.

out. What is more, don't make the mistake of taking advice from the prison guards and officials.

How do the capitalists rule, how do they maintain their power in the face of our immense numbers and our terrible agonies?

The capitalists are a tiny minority. In Canada the ruling class numbers not more than 2,000 men plus their families. They include what John Porter calls in his book *Vertical Mosaic*, "the economic elite", the "military elite", the "government elite" and so on. But the economic and political power is wielded by a much smaller group of people. Professor Ashley, quoted by Porter in the *Vertical Mosaic*, argued that in 1955 real power in the economy was held by 97 men (no women) who held between them 930 directorships in corporations operating in every sector of the economy.

These men — or rather this parasitic class — control the state, the major political parties — Liberal, Tory and Socred — and all the established institutions of this society. Their ideology, the philosophy of bloodshed and guns, permeates the churches, the schools, the universities, the mass media and the press of the country — all of which they control.

Workers in power

But the ruling rich maintain their power with even more subtle, more soul destroying techniques. They control us above all through the actual day-to-day workings of the existing economy and society.

Their system pits every human member into a ceaseless struggle of each against all. Their system stamps the very psychology of each of us with the market and commodity relationships of capitalism. Each of us unconsciously measure value, wealth and almost everything in dollar terms. This system makes human creative power itself a commodity, forcing the great mass of humanity to sell themselves daily, hourly on the labor market.

This society alienates human beings, turns them against each other and against themselves. The mass of destructive weapons capitalism produces is only matched by the mass of neurotic, psychotic, human beings pitted in a jungle whose most obvious mechanisms are hidden from them by a foliage of deception and mystification. Capitalist control over the masses, if all that weren't enough, is further reinforced by the fatigue and brutalization of the producers through the daily grind of the exploitation and alienation of their labor; by the lack of leisure time and lack of access to education and culture, especially political culture, on the part of the masses.

What will the working class do in power? With the capitalists out of the way, off our backs, with their state machine dismantled and strewn on the scrap-heap of history, and with the economy under social ownership and control, the vast natural and productive resources of this country will be used to meet the needs of all its people. Production for use will replace production for profit as the spring of economic activity. Workers councils — a democratically elected central planning authority representing the regions and sectors of the economy — will push aside the

Aug. 20-25 Socialist Conference



Phil Courneyeur

Capitalism today is rotten ripe for socialist revolution.

This rapacious system centered in the U.S. and Canada, but strongly entrenched in other major imperialist centres like Japan, Germany, Britain and France, ravages the world and threatens humanity with possible, indeed certain extinction, unless we, the working masses dislodge the ruling class from power.

The threat of nuclear war, pollution and a threatened ecological disaster, the ravages of famine and plague on the Third World — that's capitalism.

Capitalism means mass genocide as the Vietnamese, the Bengalese, the Palestinians, the Congolese and so many others of the Colonial world will testify.

Capitalism is a global human prison and we are setting about to organize the biggest jail break in human history.

The stakes are high; so anyone who puts forward a plan for the jailbreak had better know the prison inside and

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Stop the warmakers!

Amchitka and Vietnam p. 2&3

World-wide abortion struggle p. 5

Quebec students organize p. 9

Stop Amchitka! Stop the war!

The President of the United States has only to give his approval and a bomb 250 times the power of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima will be detonated under Amchitka Island off the coast of Alaska. Possible results of the test include the triggering of earthquakes, tidal waves and radiation leakage. Not only does it threaten the ecology of the whole area but it threatens the lives of the people of the West Coast.

The Amchitka blast is a part of the whole U.S. military strategy. Every day the Vietnamese people face bombs, napalm and ecological destruction from these same U.S. warmakers. As long as the warmakers remain unchallenged there will be more Amchitkas and a growing threat to the whole of humanity.

The meek "protest" of the Canadian government to Washington has had no effect. Nixon knows very well that Canada is a part of the U.S. war machine. Canada is a major supplier of military hardware and research for the U.S., a member of the NATO and NORAD military pacts and the Canadian government has committed itself in almost every way to the policies of the U.S. warmakers. Trudeau's expressions of "concern" are sheer hypocrisy.

The anti-war movement has long demanded that Canada break totally with the U.S. war machine. It is the anti-war movement that can unite all of the people in this country who oppose the war and the Amchitka test.

In response to Amchitka hundreds of thousands of people, from high school students to the Mayor of Vancouver, have already protested against the nuclear test. Demonstrations have been called across the country and for more and even bigger demonstrations.

Preparations are underway for a cross-country student day of protest against the war and Amchitka on November 3rd, when there will be student strikes against the war throughout the U.S. and for mass demonstrations in centres across Canada on November 6th, the International Day of Protest Against the War. We must build these demonstrations — Trudeau won't do it. We must unite every group opposed to the war and the test to confront the Canadian government's policies of death and destruction and to unite with people around the world to demand an end to the war.

STOP AMCHITKA!

END CANADIAN COMPLICITY WITH THE U.S. WAR MACHINE!

IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. TROOPS FROM VIETNAM!

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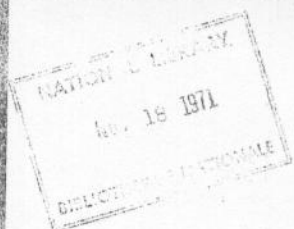
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Students tell U.S.: "Get Out!"

STORM WARNINGS

Mtl campus profs strike

by Paul Kouri

MONTREAL — The University of Quebec in Montreal (UQAM) was hastily founded in 1969 to meet the needs of surplus CEGEP (junior college) graduates. The campus of UQAM consists of a few old office buildings and two new buildings, all scattered throughout downtown Montreal. Normal facilities, including cafeterias, large meeting halls and student facilities in general, are almost non-existent. This situation contrasts sharply with the situation at McGill, the largest English-speaking campus and reflects the continuing national oppression of the Quebecois.

There are 10,000 students at UQAM, one-third of them night students. The staff includes 450 employees and 400 full-time professors. The administration saves money on salaries by using large numbers of teaching assistants in place of regular professors.

The professors are organized in their own union, SPUQ, accredited last winter and affiliated to the CNTU. More than 300 of the 400 professors are members. Last spring SPUQ aided a strike of employees by convincing students and professors not to cross picket lines.

This fall the professors went on strike, shutting down the entire university — a shutdown made possible by the solidarity of professors, employees and students against the administration. The principal demands of the strike were for improved salaries, job security and greater control over departmental policies.

Since the beginning of the strike, UQAM students have been questioning their own powerlessness, especially the absence of an independent student organization on the campus. All attempts at "participation" in the existing structures of the university were meaningless, because the administration hold all the power.

As a result many student militants are reopening the debates on student unionism which took place at the time the Union Generale des Etudiants de Quebec collapsed. In many departments meetings of 500 to 1000 students are discussing organization and how to relate student problems to the needs of the Quebec nation. The process of organization is underway, although it would be premature to predict what kind of student organization will emerge. The Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes is actively participating in the discussions, calling for action-oriented mass student organization which can mobilize students around campus issues and in the struggle for an independent, French Quebec.

Edm. students back workers

by Don Wiley

EDMONTON: University of Alberta students returned to school this fall to find their student union executive engaged in a campaign to prevent unionization of campus workers! Canadian Union of Public Employees local 1368 had been certified as bargaining agent for workers in the Student Union Building (SUB) and the Student Council was trying to have the Supreme Court throw the union out.

U. of A.'s "non-political", "service-oriented" student council waged its campaign in the worst traditions of big business. Statements were issued warning of possible deterioration of the

quality and quantity of student services.

Despite these attempts of the student council to pit students against workers, large numbers of students supported the SUB workers. These students established a SUB worker support committee.

The widespread sentiment among students in favor of the workers' rights boosted the committee. At the September 14th Student Council meeting a large number of students attended in support of the workers and forced the executive to back down entirely.

York campus YS launched

TORONTO — A second Toronto local of the Young Socialists has been established at York University in the north of the city. The new local was launched at a founding conference in October attended by 25 York students. At the conference three new members joined the Young Socialists.

Although the local was founded after the subscription drive had already started, York YS has reached 113 percent of its quota, selling 113 subs — with three weeks still to go in the drive! Since the local was formed, it has recruited two more members and become actively involved in the student movement at York.

The local played a central role in organizing against the Amchitka blast at York. Hundreds of students attended teach-ins on Amchitka and the war and busses were rented to bring students from York to the U.S. Consulate on Nov. 3.

Currently there is a struggle brewing with the administration over the location of literature tables and the local is making plans for contesting the student council elections in the spring.

Mandel to tour Canada

by Gary Kinsman

Ernest Mandel, a well-known Belgian Marxist, will tour Canada in December. Mandel is a leading figure in the Fourth International (the world Trotskyist movement) and is editor of the Belgian weekly *La Gauche*. He has written many important works on socialist theory and economics. His two volume work *Marxist Economic Theory* is considered a modern classic, and his pamphlet *Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory* is widely used as a textbook. He has also written *The Marxist Theory of the State*, *The Revolutionary Student Movement* and many other books and articles.

Mandel has been banned from many countries, including Switzerland, France and Australia, because of his ideas.

This year he was banned from the United States. A major legal battle is underway to have his admitted. The case, which has won wide support in the intellectual community, has been suc-



Ernest Mandel

cessful so far, as the courts have overturned the law under which he was banned.

However he is still denied a visa to visit the U.S., despite invitations to speak at many major universities. The U.S. government is attempting to have the Supreme Court rule against admitting him.

Mandel's tour of Canada is being organized by the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. He will be in the country in early December and will be speaking on the crisis in Europe, the monetary crisis and the current stage in the development of world socialism. For more information write: YS-LJS Central Office, 334 Queen Street West, Toronto.

West Kildonan student strike

WINNIPEG — Students at West Kildonan Collegiate have won a partial victory as a result of their strike and sit-in demanding an end to compulsory school attendance. The strike began after the school administration began to crack down on the regulation on compulsory attendance of classes, the School Attendance Act. Under the Act students under 16 can be disciplined as "habitual truants". If they are older than 16 they can be expelled.

The two day sit-in and strike involved two-thirds of the 680 students at West Kildonan. Two hundred students from

—advertisement—

Garden City school joined the sit-in which was also supported other Winnipeg high school students and the University of Manitoba students union. Strike meetings, involving all students in the school, were held to decide on the course of the struggle. Literature tables were set up at the sit-in.

In spite of the views of Manitoba Education Minister, Ben Hanuschak, that "Workers have to work, students have to go to school," a tentative agreement was reached by the negotiating committee of six teachers and twelve students that no disciplinary action would be taken due to missed classes.

The strike was organized by the Socialist Student Movement, a coalition including members of the Young Socialists, which recently won a majority on the West Kildonan student council.

High school women organize

by Diane Oki

A Women's Club is underway at Don Mills Collegiate in Toronto. In previous years there was always talk about taking some action, but it took an English course this year, Women in Literature, to inspire us to finally form a club.

After some difficulty in gaining financial support from the student council, the club managed to raise enough money selling coffee to purchase the literature we needed on birth control and abortion. Among other projects, the club decided at its first meeting to bring birth control and abortion speakers into the school, to organize educational classes, and to provide students with information on birth control and abortion.

The main difficulty facing the club has been a feeling of isolation. In the next period, this can be overcome by making efforts to contact other high school women's groups to exchange experiences and coordinate further activity. This month there's the cross-Canada campaign to repeal the abortion laws in which the club can get high school women involved, through building a high school contingent in the November 20th demonstrations in Ottawa.

Works by Ernest Mandel

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1972: Women of Canada vs. the government

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Launch student referendums

Campus women campaign for abortion right

The following working paper on the campus campaign for repeal of the abortion laws was amended and adopted by the campus workshop of the Dec. 12 meeting of the Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition. It was presented to the meeting by the University of Toronto Women for Abortion Law Repeal and is reprinted here for the information of students across the country.

We feel the campaign for repeal of the abortion laws is of particular importance for campus women. As long as abortion is illegal, and women are subject to the threat of unwanted pregnancy, we are faced with the probable consequence of having to quit university.

We want to carry referendums on repeal of those sections of the Criminal Code laws which make abortion, except under special exceptional circumstances, a criminal act, to show the Canadian government and the university administrations where the sentiment of campus women lies, and force them to meet their responsibility to us.

A referendum campaign provides an excellent means of bringing students into the abortion campaign, of arousing interest and educating around this issue. We want to make a movement out of this campaign that will involve everyone on campus — to force everyone to take a stand on this issue and to participate in the campaign. The campus workshop at the Oct. 2 Ontario abortion coalition conference endorsed the idea of referendums throughout Ontario campuses. Some campuses, like the University of Toronto, have already established groups and have made concrete steps to activate the campaign. We now want to establish the campaign on an Ontario-wide basis.

We project essentially two stages in the campaign.

First, approach student councils. Motivate to them the reasons why you think the referendum is necessary. If they refuse to carry a referendum, check the constitution for stipulations on how to get the student council to call a referendum. For example, U of T



Ottawa demonstration to repeal abortion laws, November 1971.

photo by Jeff White

requires 2,000 names on a petition demanding a referendum. If there is nothing in the constitution carry a similar campaign to force the council to hold one anyway.

While petitioning for the referendum, carry around with you the Petition calling for repeal of the abortion laws from the criminal code and supporting the MacInnis and Chappell private members bills which do this. Talk to people about the referendum and see if they want to join your group or help set one up. Ask them if they will help petition. Convince them to become actively involved.

The second stage begins when the referendum is called. When you've forced the student council to call a referendum you can really begin mobilizing. This is just the beginning of the campaign. Make sure the referendum is called late enough to give you several weeks to campaign for a yes vote on repeal. Also make sure the referendum is clearly worded so all will know what they are voting on. Many students, for example, don't know what

the present abortion laws say so the referendum couldn't simply read "are you in favor of repeal of the present abortion laws — yes or no" but would have to include a phrase such as "to make the securing of an abortion no longer a crime but rather a personal decision of the woman involved" or "to give women the right to choose whether or not to continue a pregnancy".

A lot of people are wavering on the issue and a heavy educational campaign will be required to put them on our side. A program of events should be worked out. Here are some suggestions: (These are abridged for space reasons — editor)

Have literature tables up in the student centers, cafeterias, etc. with fact sheets and other propaganda available. Make a banner saying "Vote Yes" or something similar. Have speakouts on the question.

Arrange debates on this question. Submit articles to student newspapers. Put out a series of leaflets and fact sheets on why people should vote yes. Put out a leaflet to Catholic women in the university on why they should support a woman's right to choose.

Put on dramatic presentations — Myrna Lamb's "What have you done for me lately?" or the Trial of the Canadian

government with women's testimonials on abortion performed in Ottawa on November 20 for example. Have an abortion day on campus with wearing of black armbands and dramatic presentations.

Do research on how many women get abortions on your campus. The health offices should provide this information. Possibly put an article in the campus newspaper asking women to write or telephone in about their experiences. This will also show that women on campus are affected by this issue.

If there is a student council election around this time ask all the candidates to speak out on repeal and perhaps run some women candidates on this issue.

Petition everywhere with the petition being used across the country in support of the private members bills for repeal. This is the best way to campaign for a yes vote — for legal abortion.

When we win: The vote can be used as a lever to force the administration to take a stand and to provide facilities for organizing. We can then make sure the student council gives us money, but don't wait until the vote to ask them. We can also show the government the sentiment of the campuses and force them to repeal the laws.

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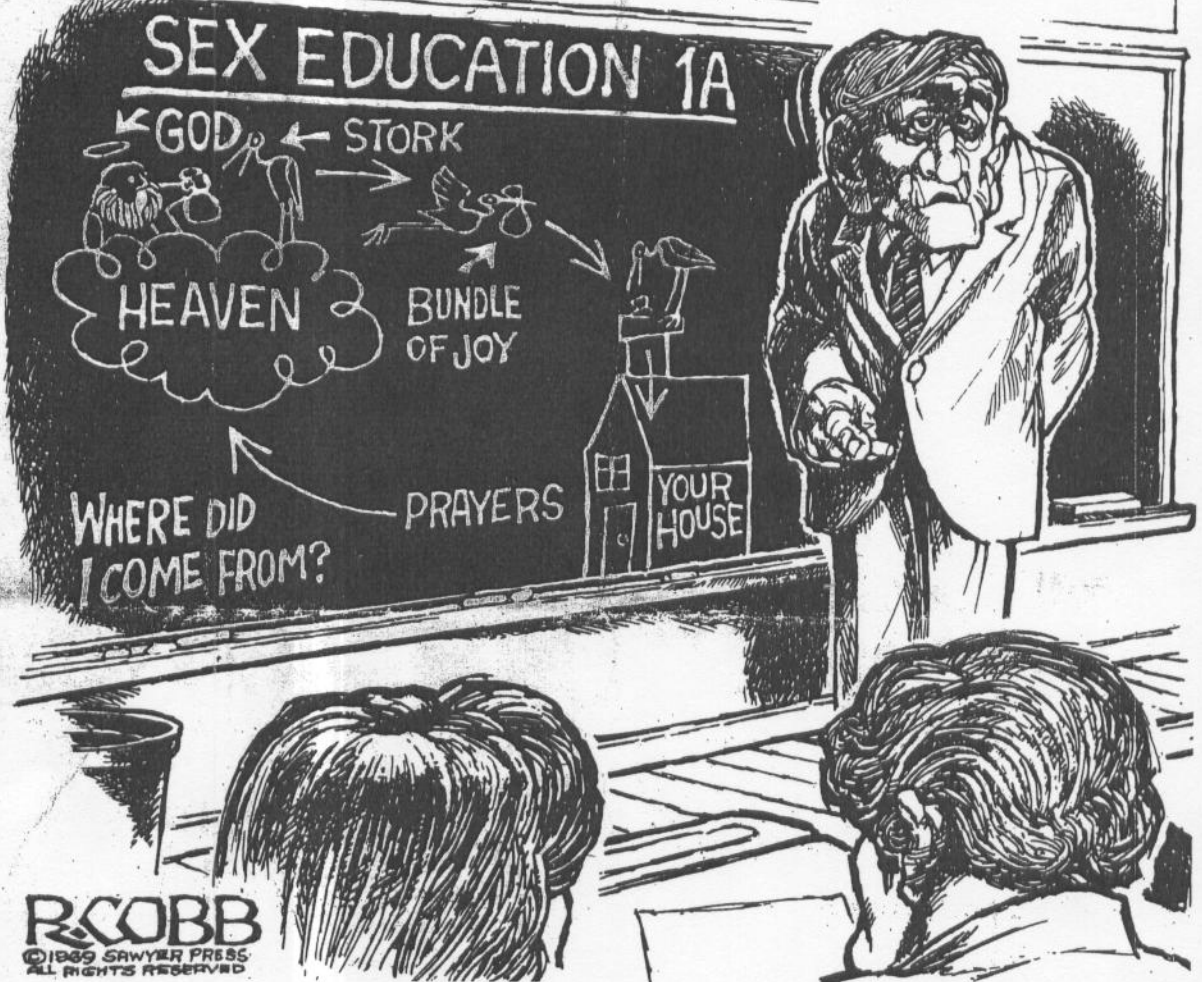
Ottawa, November 1971.

photo by Jeff White

young socialist

Feb. 1972 15 cents

ARE THERE
ANY QUESTIONS
SO FAR?



Socialism and sexual liberation/3
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The Movement



Vancouver, Oct. 6, 15,000 students walk out to protest Amchitka.

Van. SAWV moves into the schools

By Shawn Glynn

VANCOUVER — High school antiwar activists here played a central leadership role in the huge Amchitka walkouts that swept the schools last fall. Since then many of the organizers have joined the Students Against the War in Vietnam (SAWV) and the group also collected names at the Amchitka rallies. Since the upsurge SAWV has emerged as a viable, activist-oriented group which is continuing to keep high school political action in the news. SAWV is now established as the organized group coming out of the upsurge that is carrying on the struggle against the U.S. warmakers and Canada's complicity in the war machine.

During the Christmas holidays members of SAWV took action against Nixon's escalation of the war in solidarity with the actions in the U.S. A demonstration was organized at the U.S. Consulate. Consulate General Milton Rewinkle refused to give satisfactory answers to SAWV members and ordered students to withdraw from the premises. They responded by staging a one hour sit-in. After frustrating ten cops (complete with a wild dog) and having an interview with a radio station, the students left peacefully to join the Vietnam Action Committee picket outside.

In early January 15 SAWV members picketed the Vancouver School Board to protest their complicity in the education cutbacks that the provincial government is using to offset war-fueled inflation. In a statement to the press they demanded that the school board support the antiwar movement and that industries profiting from war production be taxed to pay for the rising costs of education. SAWV is also planning to confront Mitchel Sharp when he visits Vancouver in late January.

The main focus of SAWV activity inside the schools is building for the Feb. 5-6 antiwar conference. Speakers such as antiwar ministers, Amchitka walkout organizers and Barry Weisberg of San Francisco (editor of "Ecocide in Indochina"), are touring as many schools as possible.

To mobilize their student bodies more effectively SAWV members are attempting to form clubs inside their schools. They are prepared to launch student rights struggles to beat back any administration attempts to deny their

rights to freedom of speech.

As the leaflet now being circulated urges: "The Amchitka walkouts were only the beginning — continue the struggle."

Ottawa students fight for rights

by Jack Ridout

OTTAWA — A bill of rights for Ottawa high schools has recently been proposed by student activists. The 20 points include the removal of the principals' veto power over dress, hairstyles, newspapers; the establishment of students' rights to locker privacy and the forming of political organizations.

A city-wide student referendum is being planned for February and then the bill will be referred to the principals and the Board of Education, probably in March. If it passes, it will be the first such bill in Canada, a real victory for high school students.

Michael Lysack, a student at Brookfield high school and head of the bill draft committee, said in the Jan. 17 Ottawa Citizen that the purpose of the referendum is to let all students know the working of the bill and to give them a chance to offer suggestions.

The movement for the bill is still in the initial stages at this point. But already it has drawn fire from Ottawa's ruling circles. An Ottawa Citizen editorial of Jan. 20 headlined, "Freedom has limits," gave a demagogic defense of principals' veto powers. The editorial wound up: "Freedom of organization? Yes, but not total freedom. These rights are worth fighting for and worth living up to. If earned, if used responsibly, every student should have them. But it would be dangerous to engrave them in stone."

At the first Regional Student Council Conference in Ottawa on Jan. 22 R.M. Dunlop, principal of Ottawa Tech, tried to further slander the campaign. "I think you are idealists and you are trying to set up an idealistic society," he said. "If and when you do, make sure you have a police force to protect it from those who disagree with you."

Given the sustained mobilizations and involvement of as many high school students as possible, in defense of their rights, there is every indication that the struggle for the bill's adoption will be successful.

YS/LJS gets new Executive Secretary

The Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, this country's fastest growing socialist student organization, has opened the spring term with a massive campaign for the student council elections, with continued activity in the abortion, antiwar and French language movements, and with a new Executive Secretary, Al Cappe.

Cappe joined the Young Socialists at the University of Toronto after participating in the campaign to kick the war corporation, Honeywell, off the campus. Last spring he was active in the parity struggle at U of T. As organizer of the Toronto local of the YS he helped organize the high school walkouts last May against the cutbacks in education spending and the cross-Toronto Amchitka actions in the fall. He was elected to the Executive Council of the YS-LJS (the YS's pan-Canadian leadership committee) and became cross-country antiwar coordinator for the Council.

Cappe began his work as cross-country leader of the YS-LJS by flying to Vancouver to help organize the YS election campaign at Simon Fraser University. On his tour back he spoke on six campuses in the West about the importance of building the antiwar movement.

Solidarity with Irish struggle

On Jan. 31 an emergency demonstration was held by the Ad Hoc Irish Solidarity Committee in Toronto to protest the attack of a peaceful demonstration in Londonderry and murder of 13 people by British troops on Jan. 30.

About 50 people took part in the demonstration, called on a day's notice, to demand the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland and an end to the Canadian government's complicity.

Leaders in Northern Ireland have called the shooting "an awful

slaughter." Northern Ireland MP Bernadette Devlin charged that the shootings were "mass murder by the British army" and called for a general strike until British troops are withdrawn from Northern Ireland.

The Solidarity Committee charged that the Canadian government "has failed to call for the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland and moreover, is presently training these same troops at camps in Alberta and Nova Scotia."

Further demonstrations have been planned in Quebec and English Canada in solidarity with the Irish struggle.

Campuses to vote on abortion

by Linda Blackwood

Already this term the student councils at five major Canadian universities and two community colleges have called campus referendums on the question of repeal of the anti-abortion laws. The calling of referendums at Carleton, York, Toronto, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Humber and Seneca College is just the beginning of the campaign to have every university and community college in Canada carry a referendum.

Through this cross-country referendum campaign campus women's abortion co-operations are mobilizing to confront the Trudeau government with the massive sentiment on the campuses for a woman's right to abortion. Through the referendum campaign the campus co-operations will be able to organize and build a powerful and militant student wing of the movement.

The campaigns around these referendums will polarize the campuses, forcing everyone to take a stand on this issue. Already the opposition "Right to Life" groups are marshalling a campaign. At U. of T., Canada's largest campus, a group called "Birth Right" has formed, posing as a counselling service for distressed pregnant women while telling them that abortion is murder and illegal anywhere.

In some areas the referendums will be on the ballot in the student council elections. This means women can challenge the candidates to take a stand on the issue of abortion and educate students, convincing them to vote for repeal of the anti-abortion laws. In Saskatoon the Saskatoon Women for Abortion Law Repeal are seeking to involve all of the campus community in the vote by asking that faculty members and staff be allowed to vote.

As the campaign mounts thousands of students will be convinced to vote for the right of women to control their own bodies. The referendum campaign will also be a powerful lever to force the administration of the universities to take a stand for abortion and make campus facilities available to build the abortion repeal movement.

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**BRITISH TROOPS OUT
OF IRELAND NOW!**

U of T Young Socialists acclaimed / 3
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Right wing, liberals panic

Young Socialists acclaimed at U. of T.

As we go to press we learn that the Young Socialist slate has been elected by acclamation to the three leading positions on the Students' Administrative Council at the University of Toronto. However a coalition of right wingers and liberals have mobilized to block the YS victory.

The morning after the acclamation the U of T student newspaper, The Varsity carried the front page headline: Trotskyite president is acclaimed at SAC as all opposition withdraws. The lead article began as follows:

"Chaos gripped the students' Administrative offices yesterday as two presidential tickets withdrew only hours after entering the race, leaving Young Socialist Katie Curtin acclaimed as SAC president.

"Her vice-presidential running mates, Roger Harper and Yusuf Cajee automatically elected along with her.

"Within an hour of the call telling him of the second withdrawal in 12 hours, SAC elections committee chairman Al Nigro had rushed to the side of SAC president Bob Spencer and an emergency elections committee meeting had been called for 2 pm today.

"Little did he know. At almost the same time, the YS ticket was calling a public press conference for Sid Smith (building) at 1 pm today."

On the evening of the acclamation Katie Burtin gave the following statement to the Varsity:

When we started on this campaign, we said that we were confident that our program for change was a program that was correct for students on this campus. We were dead serious. We ran to win. We were willing to take up the crisis of SAC and we still are.

Everyone else has said that they don't want office. When we ran, we said that we did because we ran to take our program to students and that is exactly what we plan to do.

We want to build a student council that will mobilize students to change this university and society. The key point of the Young Socialist program is student-faculty control. We work here, we live here, we study here, we want students to control what does on here. We ran on a



The Young Socialist slate for the Students' Administrative Council at U. of T. From left are Mike Edwards, Katie Curtin, Kathy Dalton [campaign manager] Roger Harper

and Iqbal Moolia [acclaimed Architecture Rep]. Not shown is vice-pres-elect Yusuf Cajee.

photo by White

program of organizing against the US war machine and breaking this campus from it. We want a student council that campaigns for women's rights and end to all discrimination on the university and for repeal of abortion laws.

We're going to use all the democratic procedures to institute our program in the traditions of the parity, day care, Dow struggles and we're out to win SAC and this campus to that perspective.

Someone may claim that we haven't got a mandate, but when has SAC ever

had a mandate from the students of this campus? There has never been a mandated SAC at U of T. The real point of where this election is different is that this is just the beginning. We are out to get a real mandate by taking every major issue that affects this campus to the students.

If our views are repudiated by the students in this process, we'll take it back to them with a referendum or an election. We are out to make our office an instrument of the students at U of T

and we are going to carry an ongoing fight to transform SAC into that kind of instrument.

All the attempts of the right wing — liberal coalition to block the election have failed to date. It appears that they may try to impeach the YS slate before it even comes to office by rounding up the necessary 2,000 signatures.

The YS slate sees the possibility of impeachment proceedings as an excellent opportunity to clarify the issues even further.

U. of T. YS for "a new university and a new society"

This statement was published by the U of T Young Socialists in their student election campaign paper, The Liberated Varsity.

Sometimes you wonder how, in a time when students aren't even allowed in the library, when nobody is getting any jobs, when Nixon is blowing up islands in the Aleutians, yes, how could this year's SAC with a 1/3 million dollar budget, a full-time staff, a printing service and a tri-weekly paper, have been so god-damned useless?

Well, our present SAC leadership has the answer. They put it on the poster announcing the election. It says: "It is time the students took the student council seriously." You see, it was our fault. We were non-serious and apathetic.

We were apathetic because we didn't strike in October like it said in the "Year of the Siege" Handbook. We weren't serious when, 500 strong, we marched on Nov. 3 to the U.S. Consulate to join ten thousand others protesting Amchitka and the war in Vietnam (SAC didn't come). We are a bunch of elitists because we want the right to get into the stacks and SAC says the issue is community access.

Yes, it's a pretty feeble excuse. The students at U of T have taken on the administration for

parity and for access to the library, have challenged Nixon's plot to rule the world and have organized to repeal the federal abortion laws. It is SAC which has not taken these struggles seriously. It is time SAC did.

This is what is at stake in this election. The alternative which the Young Socialist campaign is posing — a student council that is a fighting organization — is one that throws all its resources behind the struggles of students for a new university and a new society.

We have some big challenges before us. The government's Wright Report outlines a 20-year plan which includes doubling tuition fees, a loan plan that indentures students to the government and wholesale cutbacks in university enrolment and expansion. We can't even get into the library anymore. We don't get jobs — we just get seasonally adjusted. The university's doors are closed to thousands of youth and wide open to those who research for a war that rages in South East Asia. Federal abortion laws force campus women to face unwanted pregnancies, the discontinuation of their education and careers and costly and illegal abortions.

The university is a bastion for the status-quo. As Wright Commissioner Jack Kirkaldy pointed out at the McMaster teach-in, the sole purpose of the present university is "babysitter," socializer

and producer of "basic income units" (read: student-future worker). It researches for war, teaches the True North Strong and Free and is run by and in the interests of big business.

Every time we fight for parity or for access to the library, every time we use the university facilities to organize the abortion or anti-war movements, we are moving one step closer to the university that meets our needs.

We need a university which is researching, teaching about and solving the problems of society; which is run by the majority, by the students and faculty and which is an organizing center for the movements for social change.

That is where SAC comes in. We don't need any flashy posters telling us to be serious or any armchair guerrillas telling us about the Year of the Siege. We need a SAC with a program of action and a commitment to change. We want to see those offices and presses and money humming away, mobilizing students to dump the Wright Report, to win stack access, to throw out the abortion laws and kick the warmakers off campus.

That is what the Young Socialists are campaigning for — a student council that builds mass student action to change the university. If there are any other candidates that are for that, we want to run with them.

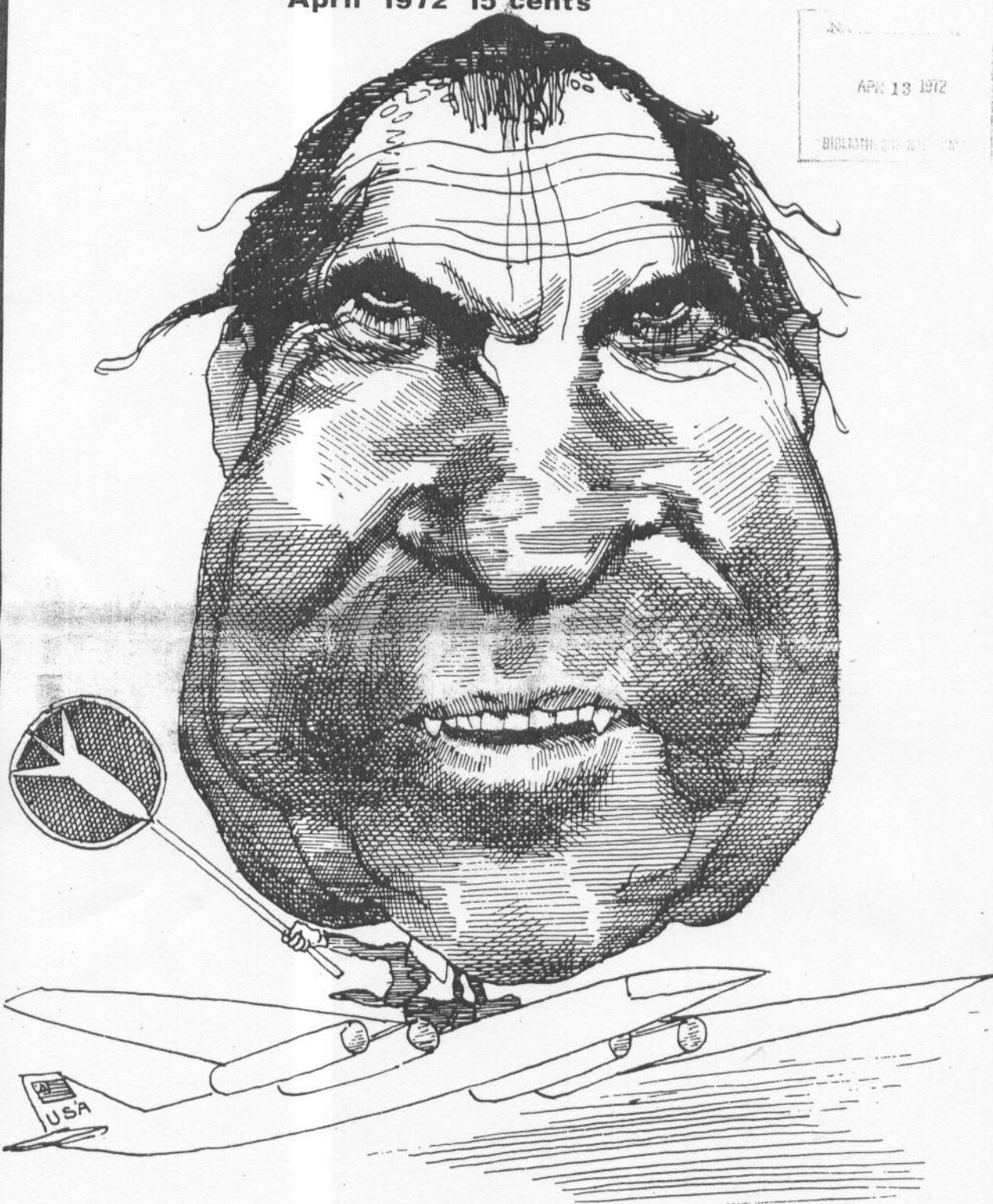
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The world's No. 1 War Criminal comes to Canada

The Movement

Waterloo teachin sparks occupation

by Abie Weisfeld

On March 22 about eight hundred students gathered at the University of Waterloo to discuss the Wright Report, war research and the University of Waterloo Act now before Provincial Legislature. The tone of the meeting was militant due to the Senate's refusal to cancel classes despite the recommendations of University President Burt Mathews.

Most of the discussion was focused around the U. of Waterloo Act under which students would be given only 12 out of 113 voting positions on the university's top governing bodies. Student representatives on the committee which drafted the Act had been consistently ignored and their proposals constantly voted down.

Coming out of the teach-in about 200 students moved to occupy the University's Business Office to demand that the Act be brought back to the campus for discussion and change.

Despite some organizational problems about fifty students remained in the occupation overnight. The next morning the campus police busted five of the students.

About a thousand students turned out that day in defense of those arrested. Students marched to the president's office. Mathews refused to recall the Act and refused to drop the charges against the students. The students then took their protest to the Senate Executive meeting and then later many joined antiwar and abortion activists who were protesting Trudeau's visit to Kitchener-Waterloo.

The next Monday another mass meeting of 700 students voted to continue the campaign by taking it to the provincial government on March 28 when other students from across Ontario would be at the legislature to protest the Wright Report and the cutbacks.

S'toon cttee organised to fight cutbacks

SASKATOON — While increasing the grant to the operating budget for Saskatchewan and Regina campuses by 3.75 million dollars, the NDP provincial government has decreased the grant to the construction budget by 3 million dollars. The result is an increase of 1 percent at a time when inflation is going up at 5 percent per year.

The effects of the cutbacks on students have already been felt in the college of engineering. The administration has decided to scrap plans to improve the facilities of the engineering building in Saskatoon. The Engineering Students Society condemned the cutback in projected expansion plans, saying that the present facilities were inadequate.

Over 100 untenured faculty members at Saskatoon campus are being laid off. On March 13 a meeting of around fifty people, mainly students, formed the University Action Committee to fight the cutbacks. The meeting condemned the administration for the projected layoffs of professors and called for public disclosure of the budget. Unfortunately



Things are getting hot for Premier Davis...

the meeting failed to call for the rehiring for the faculty members.

The Students Representative Council has called a general student meeting to discuss the cutbacks for March 22.

Ont. student councils form federation

by Sue Genge

An Ontario Federation of Students has been formed. On March 9 and 10, student council reps met in Toronto to set up the organization. From the beginning, however, what could have been a promising initiative on the part of student leaders turned out to be a barrier to student organization. The founding of the federation was initiated, promoted and financed by no less than the Tory government — the same government that has launched massive cutbacks in education spending and attacks on the student movement. It was held without the knowledge of students and without their prior participation. In short it was set up as an organization imposed from above.

The Canadian student movement has had a rich experience in student organization. In spite of a long discussion on the demise of the former Ontario Union of Students which centered out the cause of its death as its isolation and detachment from the students of Ontario, the founders of OFS consciously rejected the idea of an organization rooted in the active student movement. They rejected the idea of opening discussions on the campuses on the necessity of a province-wide organization; no clause was provided in the constitution for referendums on joining the federation. They rejected taking the issue to students and winning their support by holding meetings on the campuses and by sponsoring debates in the campus press.

Despite the fact that it was pointed out that no student organization can defend students' interests as long as it is financially dependent on a government opposed to those interests, the idea of government financing was still accepted by the reformist student councillors.

While experience has shown that the

crucial problems facing students cannot be solved through polite discussions with government officials, the idea of negotiations with the government was adopted as a priority for the OFS. Ignoring past experience, these student leaders do not see that the central purpose of the OFS must be to mobilize and unite students on a cross-province basis to fight for their interests, and not to act as a lobby on the government.

As long as the OFS remains as it stands, it will prove ineffective in meeting our needs. Unless it becomes a union of the students of this province, independent of the government, it will remain a useless tool in the hands of a few student councillors who enjoy talking to politicians and civil servants.

Van. school board bans student paper

VANCOUVER — The February issue of the *Oganookie Standard*, a student paper distributed throughout high schools here, was declared banned by school board officials a few days after publication. The reason? It contained a two-page special article on birth control.

At the next meeting of the school board the ban was the first item on the agenda. Outside the meeting the Birth Control Rights Committee picketed. Inside BCRC chairwoman, Colleen Glynn, was

refused permission to speak.

Immediately after the meeting the Inter High Student Society which publishes the paper, the BCRC which is currently organizing abortion law repeal petitioning in the secondary schools and high school activists of the Young Socialists mobilized against the ban.

At the next school board meeting the BCRC again picketed outside. Students poured in from Vancouver and surrounding municipalities until, finally, a board official barred the doors mumbling about "fire regulations."

Once again Glynn was refused permission to speak. After one and a half hours of discussion the board voted to ratify the ban to the hissing of the audience.

On leaving the meeting the students took over the next room for a meeting. The meeting evolved into an inspiring discussion of the need to continue the campaign for freedom of the press and birth control education as well as the need for student-teacher control of education to ensure democracy in the schools.

One third vote for YS in Van. H.S. election

VANCOUVER — Duncan McLean, who we reported in the last issue as having just run for council at New Westminster secondary, moved to another school district and (soon after) entered another election.

While petitioning for abortion law repeal he met the ex-councillor who had resigned from the position he was running for. She immediately volunteered to be his campaign manager and the fight was on.

Within days the school had been plastered with "Vote Young Socialist" posters, 500 program flyers had been distributed, 50 *Young Socialists* had been sold and the YS candidate had addressed dressed an election rally of 500. The vote was called. McLean polled a close second out of three.

The YS program consisted of student and teacher control, defense of student rights, alliance with teachers in fighting cutbacks, support for the antiwar movement and for the movement to repeal the abortion laws.

The school, Centennial High, has the reputation of being the most "progressive" in the province with few regulations, modern facilities and a primarily young faculty. However, while defending these reforms the YS campaign explained the superficial nature of them and the fundamental lack of real democratic control over the school by the students and staff.

The election campaign was highly valuable in getting students involved in building the movements for social change and in introducing the YS. It has laid the groundwork for bigger things to come.

...capitalism and the cutbacks

Continued from page 7

protecting its imperialist holdings, it thrives on wars.

The fight against the cutbacks is a beginning of the fight against the system which nurtures them. As long as capitalism exists, as long as the economy is controlled by a tiny elite, the expectations of students will continue to be sacrificed for the needs of big business and its world-wide system of imperialism.

A new system — socialism — the culmination and victory of all the

struggles against capitalism is needed in which the economic forces are democratically controlled and planned by the whole society to meet the needs of people not of profit. Private ownership of the commanding heights of the economy, presently used to enrich and empower a tiny handful of super rich, would cease. Education would be saved from the constantly recurring and worsening crisis of capitalism and, instead, promote the expanding horizons of human creative activity.

young socialist

May-June 1972 15 cents



Self-determination for the Vietnamese!
Build the anti-war movement!

Vietnam for the Vietnamese!

Never has it been clearer what the struggle in Vietnam is all about.

The United States — the most powerful nation in the world — a nation utilizing the most sophisticated and sinister weaponry ever developed — is being routed in Vietnam. How can this be? What is it that is driving the giant back?

It is becoming very clear to people everywhere that what is happening in Vietnam is a revolution — a popular movement of the majority to free their country from foreign aggression — a relentless struggle for self-determination by the Vietnamese people, north and south, east and west.

Nixon claims that the North has launched an "invasion" of the South. But a people cannot invade its own country.

There is only one Vietnam — not two. The Pentagon papers said it: "South Vietnam is essentially the creation of the United States." The country was divided by the giants of the world at a negotiating table in Geneva Switzerland in 1954. It was done to prevent the Southern section of the country from choosing the road of socialism. The boundary has been held and the puppet Saigon regime propped up only by force and U.S. might.

But that force is crumbling.

After years of American aggression the heroic Vietnamese fight on. These people have seen their villages and cities levelled by incendiary and concussion bombs; their forests blackened by defoliant sprays; their children scarred by napalm; their farms pockmarked with bomb craters; their comrades murdered by insidious anti-personnel devices. Yet they continue their courageous and never-tiring struggle.

"Vietnamization", Nixon's strategy of handing the "defence" of "South Vietnam" over to the Saigon Regime, while maintaining U.S. air support, has been shattered. The corrupt puppet Saigon government is in shambles; the army is disintegrating; and the viscous bombing is being weathered. So Nixon is up against the wall.

He has two alternatives: accept a defeat and get out or completely destroy Vietnam, perhaps using nuclear weapons.

When you consider his April 26 statement: "All that we have risked and all that we have gained over the years, hangs in the balance", the second alternative looms forward as something much more than a remote possibility.

We must stop him! The people of Canada and the world want the U.S. out of Vietnam. Our emergency task is to mobilize that sentiment into powerful mass actions that can tie Nixon's hands a little tighter and enable the Vietnamese to win the self-determination they have fought so long for. U.S. OUT NOW!

VIETNAM FOR THE VIETNAMESE!

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DOONESBURY



From the back row...

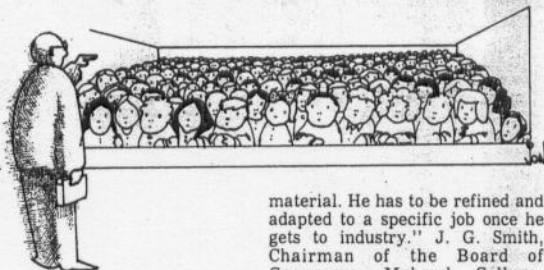
Lightbulbs are next — The cutbacks hit Harbord C.I. in Toronto hard last month, when the school ran out of toilet paper. The Administration sent out an SOS to a neighboring school for help but their supplies were almost depleted also. We assume this is what the Tory government means by its "cutting out unnecessary frills."

Stop! You've read enough! So says the Third Plenum of the Maoist "Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)." "The Third Plenum resolutely opposes BOOK WORSHIP and certainly believes that the MORE YOU STUDY, THE MORE FOOLISH YOU BECOME." (emphasis in original).

Cutting back coily — George Kerr, Ontario Minister of University Affairs promised protesting students that there would only be "minimal" hikes in tuition fees next year. Fees for Ontario graduate students are being increased from \$485 to \$877.50. If an 80 percent hike is "minimal" we'd hate to see a "moderate" increase.

Irony anyone? — Judge Julius Hoffman — remember — the one who conducted the Chicago 7 conspiracy trials (among others) died recently after stuffing himself at a \$2.00, all you can eat, smorgasboard.

And wash it first — In protest against Richard Nixon's escalation of the war, the students' council at a Walla Walla Washington college has demanded that Nixon return the football jersey that the school gave him last fall. The captain of



the school team gave Nixon the sweater "in appreciation of the President's interest in the game", but has asked for it back because of Nixon's "failure to act on his campaign promises to end the American involvement in Indochina." They said "the only way to reach Richard Nixon is through the medium of football."

Socialism Yes, Capitalism NEY — A 6 year old Communist horse has recently been denied entrance to the United States because it was born in Cuba. The New Jersey owner bought the horse in Canada 7 months ago but has been unable to get it across the border. Sounds strange — but then again, you never know what trouble some red horse might stir up in a New Jersey Stable.

Stuffed Nobility — The Duchess of Bedford (England) has gone into strict training in a bid to capture the title of the worlds fastest haggis eater. The Duchess will set out May 29 to crack the 5 year old record of eating a 15 ounce haggis (oatmeal cooked in a sheep's stomach) in 65 seconds. As if the ruling class hasn't got enough to worry about.

Telling it like it (at present) is — "Education is to educate; industry is to employ and make a profit. A college graduate is like raw

material. He has to be refined and adapted to a specific job once he gets to industry." J. G. Smith, Chairman of the Board of Governors, Mohawk College, Hamilton.

Makes you wonder — The Ontario Government's Department of Colleges and Universities allocated \$44 million for awards to needy students in the last year. However only \$36 million was actually awarded. We guess they gave grants to everyone who wanted one and just couldn't find enough needy students. But what happened to the missing \$8 million?

"I will bring you peace" — This month's Guru is unquestionably the Marajah Ji, "Saviour of Mankind, Perfect Master, Lord of the Universe, Revealer of Light, Peace, Love, Unity and Everything Eternal." The 14-year-old "saviour" who just left Canada has an estimated 30 million followers around the world, a personal bodyguard of 5,000 at his opulent ashram in Uttar Pradesh, and a worldwide organization that sometimes charters 747's to ferry pilgrims to India.

The Empire crumbles — A study conducted by Prof. Andre H. Caron of the University of Montreal claims that 5 year olds have "complete faith" in the truthfulness of TV ads; but 7 year olds "begin to have very divided opinions concerning the honesty" of commercials; and 9-year-olds "completely distrust commercials because of past experience."

Don Tapscott

FEIFFER



"My political education came in the streets"

Interview with Quebec independentist leader

One of the most well known and controversial leaders of the nationalist movement in Quebec is Reggie Chartrand. Chartrand emerged as a leader of the movement for the defense of the French language in the mid 60's and since then has been a militant fighter for the Quebecois and for independence.

However, Chartrand has been accused

shouting "Quebec libre," Quebec really wasn't free. From the beginning in the struggle, I have been arrested 16 times for fighting for the national independence of the Quebec people which for me is a just and noble cause and I know very well that there have been other guys who have gotten beaten up, who have been jailed, and who have been

are the English minority which is treated as a majority. We are the oppressed people and the oppressed can never be racists. They are always in a defensive position. Now, what we want to save is the soul and then the culture of our people which is the French language. Is this normal for us to save our language? Obviously it's normal! It is normal for all peoples on earth to want to speak their language in their country.

I want the French language to become the working language in the province of Quebec, which is completely normal, and if I am accused of being a racist because of this, well I regret — it is not me who is racist, but the guys who oppress us.

Question: What is your position on the Parti Quebecois?

Answer: My position on the Parti Quebecois — this question has been posed to me many times and I have been accused of spitting on Rene Levesque. I say: "I am sorry, but if you believe that Levesque will bring national independence for the people of Quebec, you are mistaken."

All the more so in that Levesque has betrayed the cause on many, many occasions. Twice he has placed his position as president of the P.Q. at stake in order to protect the English minority in the province of Quebec. But it is not the English minority that needs to be protected, but the French majority. So, we have often seen Rene Levesque betray the cause, and we will see him betray the cause again if the Quebecois follow naively and vote blindly for the Parti Quebecois. It's already a year since I have been a member of the P.Q.

So for me, the P.Q. will eventually become just another miserable political party that uses the nationalist "bag" to win votes. I think that is very mean and the Quebecois have to be warned about this. To me a revolutionary is a man who must tell the truth and the way we revolutionary independentists can triumph is by telling the truth. And the way the others will lose is by telling lies, which is what they have always done anyway. And I repeat again that Rene Levesque is a — I'm sorry — but he is a supposed nationalist, who is quite a bit "liberal."

Question: So, what means would you advocate to win national liberation for Quebec?

Answer: I know that countries have always got their freedom through people going into the streets to demonstrate. Maybe there are some window-breakers. But nothing in the world has been accomplished as long as the masses were not gathered together and went into the streets to demonstrate publicly their dissatisfaction with a government that has betrayed them every day. Therefore to me it is the duty of every French Canadian to go into the street and demand national independence, that we speak French and work in French in the province of Quebec. I want Quebec to be as French as Ontario is English.

Question: What is your attitude towards the oppressor nation, English Canada?

Answer: Some day the English Canadian people will understand that we, the Quebecois, are an oppressed people and they too are oppressed. And as long as the two oppressed peoples fight each other for bread crumbs, they will be robbed to death by the Americans, that's obvious. But the day when English Canada understands that



Reggie Chartrand

our fight is their fight and their fight is our fight, we will be closely linked. English Canada cannot be free as long as French Canadians are not free.

Question: Are independence and socialism opposed or complementary?

Answer: To me, independence and socialism are closely connected. It goes without saying that Quebec independentists, Quebec nationalists, are people who are on the weaker side against the stronger. Thus, if you are on the weaker side against the stronger, normally you can't be a right-winger — you must be leftwing or a socialist.

I say that every Quebec — because you can see all those who are fighting for national independence are never fat and big, or look well and have nice jobs. It's always small, disinherited people who are close to the workers, the laborers. So you will never see a prosperous guy being independentist. It's always poor, outcast people. So if you try to separate socialism from national independence, you're completely wrong.

Question: What do you think of the various left movements in Quebec?

Answer: I have become fairly closely connected with the LJS and the LSO because I understood that the real people of the left in Quebec were those who are fighting for the oppressed. And that's why nowadays I, along with members of the LJS and LSO organize demonstrations for the French language and the independence of Quebec.

So I say that a real left-winger, a left-winger who is honest, is for the independence of all nations of the world — he is for the independence of Ireland and all countries fighting for their freedom. If we remember the thoughts of Ho Chi Minh, where he says: "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom."

Question: In your opinion what link exists between Quebec nationalism and internationalism?

Answer: As a Quebecois, my first duty is to the Quebec people. I personally and the Knights of Independence, do not feel we have enough energy, let's say, to participate in demonstrations for Ireland, for Bangladesh, for the Blacks in the U.S. But it goes without saying that we are in solidarity with all the oppressed people on the earth, that's obvious. For instance, I have a great deal of admiration for Cassius Clay who is a Black Muslim, for Bernadette Devlin and for Fidel Castro who are fighting a heroic struggle against those who are oppressing them.

So, as far as massive support to other oppressed nations is concerned, I follow it and I completely agree with it. But you win the right to be an internationalist by freeing your own country and I point to the thinking of Fidel Castro who says: "Every people that frees itself is a new stage won in the battle for the liberation of another people."

To prove our solidarity with all the colonized peoples of the world, we will make Quebec independent. And this is the best way to prove to the rest of humanity and encourage other nationalist and independentist struggles, the other struggles of the oppressed peoples of the earth.



Reggie Chartrand addresses mass independentist rally of 8,000 Oct. 16, 1971 in Montreal.

from many sides of being a "racist," "fanatic," "extremist," "leftist," "reactionary," and even a "fascist."

The following interview, published in the May issue of the Quebec revolutionary socialist paper **LIBERATION**, clarifies Chartrand's ideas.

He was interviewed by the Editor of **LIBERATION**, Alain Beiner. The translation is by **YOUNG SOCIALIST**.

Question: Can you explain to us how it is that you are accused of being a "racist," an "extremist," etc., and how you developed your political positions.

Answer: I was arrested at least two or three times merely for wearing a sweater with "Quebec libre" written on it. Therefore, I very quickly reached the conclusion that if they arrested me for

persecuted. The police of the province of Quebec do not protect the interests of the Quebec people, but protect the interests of the colonizers in Quebec.

And it is this way — fighting — that is, my political education doesn't come from books. It comes from something I learned in the streets.

It is obvious that I consider myself an extremist, but you must understand that there is a big difference between the word "extremist" and the words "fanatic" and "racist." An extremist is a guy who goes to the extreme to prove his point. It is obvious that I go to the extreme to prove my point; besides, I already got knocked out for going into the streets to fight for the national independence of the Quebec people.

On the question of racism, I consider that the racists in the province of Quebec

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Are students ripping off the taxpayer?

By Al Cappe

In order to carry out their massive assault on students and the quality of education, the provincial governments have put themselves forward as the defenders of the working people whose taxes are being "squandered" by the students. Their ridiculous argument that selfish students are the cause of high taxes goes something like this:

"Accessibility to higher education is not a right of every citizen but a privilege granted to only a few — to those who can afford it. The universities and colleges are ivory towers, isolated from the rigors and hardships of the working world, 'the real world'. They are 'Taj Mahals', of learning and training. It is time we stripped them down. It is time the academic escapades of these students and professors were made accountable to the working people who pay for the schools with their taxes. These students who are headed for all the top jobs, who are always demanding more grants, better facilities, more interesting courses and control over this and that, are ripping off the public."

The victim is made to appear the criminal. The interests of students and their struggles are in opposition to the interests and struggles of the working people. According to the official ruling class myth, the universities and colleges serve the selfish needs of the small minority of privileged students.

First of all, any student who has sat in the lecture halls of 500 people will testify that post-secondary education is not, a quaint finishing school for the privileged minority. It is a training school, with a present capacity of 500,000, geared to integrating a whole sector of Canadian youth into the work force of advanced capitalist society. In fact, 68 percent of all post-secondary students in Ontario come from families whose income is under \$10,000 (note family income), 44 percent from families of income under \$7,000.

And the universities and colleges do not serve the needs of students, as any one who has waited two months for a course change will also testify. Education serves the profiteering needs of the small minority of big businessmen who run this country. The same men who fill the boardrooms of the companies, fill the boardrooms of the universities.

It is not a great oversimplification to say that the vast network of universities and community colleges is a mass apprenticeship program run by the capitalists to provide skilled labor for their highly technological and extremely competitive industrial, military and financial complex.

The education system takes youth and attempts to cast them into a common mold imprinted with the values and the skills they need to be perfect cogs in the capitalist wheels. It is not interested in discussing and researching the problems of society, in opening minds to new ideas, in pursuing the alternatives to a society whose priority is profit from war, pollution and oppression.

The universities and colleges are not there to assure youth a good future and fine jobs. The diplomas are not tickets to any special privileges. Student youth are headed straight into the work force as teachers, accountants, researchers and technicians — in general as white collar workers. Many will not even find the jobs for which they have spent time and money training.

A federal government publication appropriately named "Supply and Demand" reported that the number of new Arts B.A.s and M.A.s hired in 1971 as compared to 1970 were down 43 percent and 27 percent respectively; Bachelors and Masters of Engineering down 21 percent and 55 percent; and

Bachelors of Agriculture, Education, Forestry and Physical Education down 23 percent, 25 percent, 24 percent and 62 percent. Now that the market is glutted with grads and the corporations have a good "supply" of personnel, they are cutting back their training program placing a greater financial burden on students and thus forcing a lowering of enrollment.

The Wright Report projects students paying 50 percent of the operating costs of education whereas now they pay only 13 percent. Yet the majority of Canadian graduate students (who do 40 percent of the teaching) live below the poverty line, some on salaries of 1800 dollars a year. The Ontario Student Awards Plan allots each student \$30 a week for room and board. Rooms in the Glendon College residence are ¼ empty and the rest are on rent strike. Students are forced into being economically dependent on the family and caught in the oppressive nature of the home.

The only people who benefit from the education system, the capitalists, pay nothing for it. The working people of Canada pay with their taxes for the bosses' apprenticeship program.

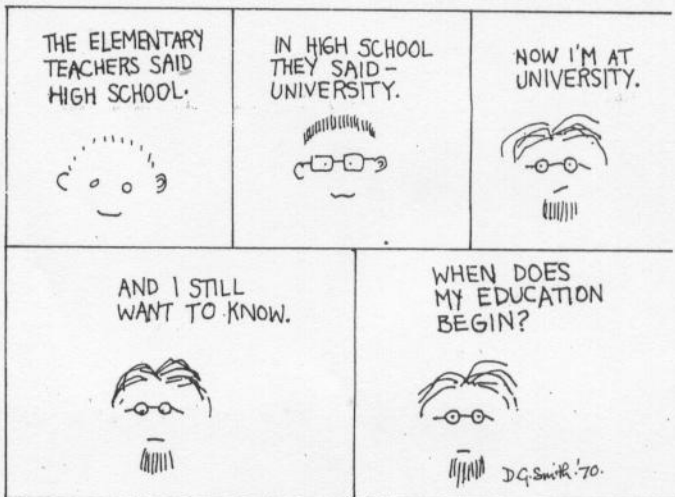
The findings of the Wright Commission show that it is not the students, but big business and the government

detrimental or irrelevant to the working class. Students, they feel, should desert student issues and fight for community or "working class" issues.

The universities and colleges are not ivory towers, isolated from the problems facing society at large. Neither do students want them to be ivory towers.

Students come onto the campus with all the questions and expectations of their generation. They are interested in all the major political questions and many are active in the antiwar, women's liberation and Quebec nationalist movements. But they find an education which has nothing to do with the problems they see in the world and has phony and pat answers to their questions. They come as Quebecois and women and they find institutions which try to justify, and are guilty of racism and sexism. They meet an authoritarian and bureaucratic structure; an institution of class society bent on molding them into persons well-adjusted to the profit system of war, pollution and alienation.

The oppressive nature of the university has been the cause of the student radicalization and the welding of students coming from different backgrounds and headed in different directions into a student movement.



who are ripping off the public. The families with 68 percent of the students in post-secondary education, the families with incomes under 10,000 dollars, are paying for 72 percent of the operating costs of education. Rather than changing the tax system to tax the billion dollar profits of General Motors which reaps the benefits of education or ending the tax holidays to American corporations, the government with its cutbacks further increases the burden on working people and students. It raises the tuition of the families' children, in turn forcing these students to be more of a financial burden on the family. It raises still further the barrier to education for low-income families. With its budget cuts it decreases the quality of the education for which they are being taxed. And furthermore because those who can afford to pay are still not paying, the problem is not solved and school taxes in Ontario go up in late April.

Although the government's talk about the privileges of students and its sudden concern for the working people are so obviously false, many student leaders and some radicals have fallen for the government's lies. They accept the myths that students are a privileged elite or a "petty-bourgeois" layer and any improvements in their lot are either

The student movement, in its battles for democratization of the university, for control of course content and hiring and firing, for an end to war research, for open residences, is struggling at the side of the working people — because the dynamic of these student struggles is to wrest the colleges out of the hands of the ruling class, to make education accountable to the problems of society and the needs of working people.

Similarly, the fight against the cutbacks is not a struggle by students to defend their "privileges". The students who demonstrate for "Free Tuition, Tax the Corporations" are seeking to make education the right of all and they are supported in their demands by the Ontario Federation of Labor. In fighting the budget cuts they are attempting to reverse the priorities of a society which puts war before education.

With its demagoguery about taxpayers which pits students against workers the government has attempted to confine and disorient the student movement. It is important that we not be taken in. To accept their lies and myths is to make the student movement impotent, not just on this question but on every question where students are fighting battles to end all aspects of their oppression in education — battles on the side of the working class.

Has the student revolt waned since the 60's?

by Richard Thompson

Over the past year there has been a great deal of speculation about where the student movement is heading. In articles in the bourgeois press several commentators have concluded that the student radicalization is ebbing and that students are headed for a return to the 1950's. One such article appeared in the Nov. 27 Toronto Star in which John Masters develops the theme that after four years of deepening disillusionment with the school system high school students are now turning back to so-called "school spirit". According to Masters the radicals are small in numbers and isolated from the majority of students. "Something reversed the trend," he says, and now "all those things which make that intangible force called school spirit (have) come alive again."

Whatever others may have thought of Masters' thesis it could not have convinced most high school students. In a letter to the Star several days later a Willowdale high school student gave an appropriate reply: "School spirit? You've got to be kidding!"

"Both myself and numerous other students in the system have been facing high brick walls when trying to effectively participate in the governing of a school which makes false pretenses to such participation. Official meetings with staff are exercises in futility. Petitions concerning honor systems, a proper lounge area and ridiculous poster censorship regulations were signed by students of all hair lengths."

This letter is no exception. All indications show that more students than ever see the need for fundamental changes in the schools, campuses and society as a whole. Far from being confined to a few radicals the disillusionment with the system is continually spreading to more students.

The most striking confirmation of the deepening of the radicalization was the massive upsurge against the Amchitka test last fall. More than 50,000 students participated in the actions and the largest number were from high and junior high schools. This massive protest against the cynical destruction by U.S. imperialism sparked tens of thousands of B.C. workers to join the protest in the largest political action by Canadian workers in half a century. During this upsurge students on a number of campuses took over the resources of the university to build the demonstrations, taking the first step toward establishing the university as a centre of social change.

Since Amchitka there have been several campus struggles, like the library struggle at U. of T., that have revealed a great deal about the radicalization. Most recently over 1,000 students demonstrated at the Ontario Legislature against education cutbacks even before the Tory government adopted its new budget. This protest made it clear that thousands of students had no confidence at all in the government respecting their interests.

But although such struggles have shown some aspects of the student radicalization it would be wrong to try and assess the mood on the campuses, colleges and high schools only in this way. Since the upsurge of 1968-69 there has been a change in the mood of students. 1968 held out a big promise to students: in many ways it was the beginning of the student movement in Canada and there was a sense of immediacy felt by students across the country. Compared to recent struggles, which have been short-lived and sporadic, 1968-69 was marked by sustained, militant actions. It is for this reason that the myths about a lull in the student

radicalization have been adopted not only by the bourgeois press but by some students as well. In some radical circles it is assumed that students are not as important as they were several years ago.

Such conclusions not only ignore or underestimate the student struggles that have occurred in the past two years, they fail entirely to look deeper at the profound radicalization of students as a whole. More than ever before students are raising fundamental questions about the whole nature of this system. The massive student sentiment against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam is only one indication of this. In a poll conducted last fall, little more than a year after the War Measures Act, over 70 percent of university students supported the right of the Quebecois to self-



Is the student movement dead? This article is only the beginning of a discussion — Young Socialist welcomes your views. Send them to YS, Box 517, Station A, Toronto.

determination. In the recent referendum campaign students at over 17 colleges and universities voted overwhelmingly for repeal of the abortion laws. And, prevailing the whole student population, is the deep-going Canadian nationalist sentiment whose power was most dramatically revealed in the upsurge against the Amchitka test.

There is a tremendous thirst for ideas and searching for alternatives to the present system. On almost every campus women's study departments have been formed and hundreds upon hundreds of women are beginning to learn the truth about their oppression.

What is most significant about the radicalization is the growing number of students who are attracted to revolutionary ideas. Thousands of students attended meetings to hear Belgian Marxist Ernest Mandel, Sean Kenny of the IRA and Pakistani revolutionary Tariq Ali. The fall subscription drive for the revolutionary press, Young Socialist and Labor Challenge, was the largest ever and it was not unusual for over 25 subs to be sold in a single campus residence. The Ukrainian youth's paper, Student, reprinted Trotsky's "On the Ukrainian Question" in their Nov. 1971 issue.

But while the radicalization is becoming more widespread and profound the changes since the first big wave of student struggles cannot be ignored. The reason for the sporadic and short-lived nature of student struggles

since 1968-69 has been that virtually the whole leadership of the student movement was derailed. This new leftist leadership was, at its peak, very large: there were organized Students for a Democratic University (SDU) groups on most campuses; the new left dominated both the Canadian Union of Students (CUS) and the Union Generale des Etudiants de Quebec (UGEQ) and in addition had the support of several student councils. Given the level of the radicalization the new left brought together impressive forces.

But these radicals and revolutionaries, who had initiated and led many student struggles, turned more and more toward ultraleftism. 1969 was declared the "year of the seige", and "year the campuses will burn." The new leftists adopted demands such as Victory to the NLF, urged violent confrontation with the administration; and suggested that the choice before CUS was either a retreat to reformism or revolution now. In their concern to find shortcuts to the revolution they misestimated the level of the radicalization and became isolated from the majority of students.

After 1969 the new left rapidly abandoned the student movement. As a rationale they adopted theories that students are a privileged group with no interest in socialist revolution. Those who recognized the revolutionary potential of the student movement, like the Young Socialists, were not yet large enough to have a decisive influence.

There have been other factors in the change as well. Since the first major student revolt the ruling class has moved in to prevent an explosion by granting significant concessions to students. In the absence of a large and authoritative leadership this has been effective in buffering the radicalization. The granting of women's studies courses, for example, has made the university serve some of the needs of women students and temporarily cut across active struggle. The extent to which the administrations are willing to grant reforms was shown by their cancelling of classes at some campuses during Amchitka and their aid in organizing teach-ins on the cutbacks. In the high schools there has been a significant extension of students' rights. All of these concessions are valuable gains for students but on the other hand they show that the ruling class is doing its best to keep the lid on the tinderbox — to prevent a Canadian repetition of the May-June 1968 upsurge in France.

However, these concessions threaten to present another problem for the ruling class: since they solve none of the basic problems students face they will provoke even more fundamental questions about the system.

The profound radicalization of students has opened a greater audience for revolutionary ideas than ever before. The task of revolutionaries is to respond to these tremendous possibilities by building the mass movements such as the antiwar and abortion repeal movements. It is these movements that will be central in educating new activists by bringing them into powerful and sustained campaigns that confront the central issues in world politics. It is in these movements that new militants will gain experience that will be invaluable in other struggles. And it will be out of the mass movements that a broad revolutionary leadership in the student movement will be forged. Such a leadership, which the Young Socialists are involved in building across the country, is essential to the development of a militant, mass action student movement — a key component of the coming Canadian revolution.

Which road to Canadian independence

by Dennis Lomas

On November 3 last year hundreds of thousands of us demonstrated against the Amchitka blast. The U.S. war machine was threatening Canada with earthquakes, tidal waves and nuclear pollution. It was a huge upsurge of the Canadian nationalist movement.

Many factors have fired this mass sentiment now central to the political life of Canada. Canadians worry about the control of much of Canadian industry by U.S. multi-national corporations. We loathe the violence, racism, arrogance and bigotry in U.S. society and fear its further encroachment into Canadian life. Students are revolting against a university which serves imperialism. U.S. aggression in Vietnam has prompted thousands to speak out against the murderous war which distorts the economic priorities of North America and sends inflation upward. Directed against U.S. imperialism, Canadian nationalism is profoundly anti-imperialist.

A number of nationalist political currents have commented on Canadian nationalism and have attempted to formulate policies for it. Among these we find the Canadian Liberation Movement (CLM), most known for its advocacy of a quota on the hiring of American professors. Since many of the mis-conceptions it puts forward are shared by some students its analysis and policies should be studied.

The CLM believes that Canada is a colony. It believes "our national resources, our culture, and our industry — all are controlled from across the border ...". (New Canada, the CLM public organ, March 1972). To the CLM the Canadian ruling class is nothing more than an agent of U.S. imperialism, a comprador class, or, as they say, a "comprador bourgeoisie".

This keystone component of their analysis is wrong. Although American corporations control huge sections of the Canadian economy, the Canadian capitalist class has considerable economic power as well. Recently Peter Newman, editor of McLeans Magazine, pointed out that the Canadian banking industry, wholly controlled by Canadian big business, is the third largest in the world. In 1968 legislation was passed to restrict ownership and control of radio, television and cable companies to companies to Canadian business. The mass city daily newspapers are owned by Canadian business. We see a similar picture in the transportation industry.

Most importantly this class of super-rich Canadians controls the Canadian state and the only two political parties that have ever held office in Ottawa, the Liberals and Conservatives. At its command are the police forces that attempt to breakup demonstrations and strikes, the army which was rushed to Montreal during the FLQ crisis in 1970, and the courts which protect the property of the rich.

In addition the Canadian bourgeoisie exploits an internal colony, Quebec, and has extensive imperialist holdings around the world. For example Canadian banks completely control the economy of Trinidad.

Canada is not a colony. It is both an imperialist power and an imperialized nation. Far from being a comprador class, the Canadian bourgeoisie, in firm control of the Canadian state, is an imperialist power in its own right. This class has worked out a mutually acceptable relationship with the U.S. capitalist class for the common exploitation of the labor and resources of North America. In this relationship it is a junior partner.

As well as incorrectly analyzing the nature of the Canadian ruling class and the Canadian nation, CLM misjudges the role of the labor movement, especially its political arm in the New Democratic Party (NDP). To the CLM "The NDP does not even stand for Canadian in-

dependence from U.S. control: the NDP is directly run by the imperialists through their labor lieutenants in the U.S. unions." (June 1971, New Canada).

CLM fails to see how the fundamental class divisions in Canadian society between the workers and the capitalist class will determine who are and who are not allies or potential allies of the Canadian nationalist movement. The fight against American imperialism is a fight against its junior partner, the Canadian capitalist class. Canadian nationalism is a class sentiment. The labor movement and its political arm, the NDP, lined up against the economic and political edifice erected by the capitalist class, will tend to encompass Canadian nationalism within itself and give expression to it. Already socialist and nationalist ideas within the NDP and labor movement have received a broad hearing and support through the Waffle wing of the party. Even Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis said recently that Canada doesn't need Nixon's "gratuitous recognition of our independence. We'll carve out our own separate existence without any invitation to do so from President Nixon."

Like its approach to the labor movement, in the student movement the CLM's analysis mixes up enemies with potential friends of Canadian nationalism. "We see people across the country rising up against U.S. imperialism" it says, with "students opposing the takeover of the universities by increasing numbers of American

professors." (New Canada, March 1972).

Here CLM's eyes are closed to the real structure of the university, to where the power lies. True, some American professors bring racist and chauvinist concepts into Canada; but a far higher percentage of those coming to Canada are more radical than Canadian professors. In any case professors, Canadian or American, do not control the university. The Canadian big business elite controls it through the boards of governors, governmental bodies, and other institutions. They are the real Americanizers.

In line with its general approach the CLM has been campaigning since January 1971 for a quota on the hiring of American professors, an attempt to stop the Americanization of the university. In May 1972 New Canada was still lauding the campaign's virtues: "The best way to begin to combat the conscious campaign to turn Canada into a banana-republic reflection of the American nightmare is to fight for national quotas to stop American cultural penetrations." This includes quotas on American films and other things. Central to it, however, is the quota on professors.

The struggle to rip the university from the hands of the U.S. imperialists has to be waged against the real Americanizers of the university, the Canadian capitalist class not American professors who are potential allies. Students and faculty have to take the university out of the control of big business to establish a university which serves Canadians



Toronto, Nov. 3, 1972. The Amchitka upsurge imperialism in Canada's history.

The university should serve as an organizing center for the Canadian nationalist movement. During the Amchitka upsurge facilities on many campuses were used by activists in this way.

The demand for a quota on the hiring of American professors does not challenge the rule of big business in any



"... A PERFECT FIT"

Why t

by Gary Kinsman

Many imperialists have had their bloody hands in Southeast Asia. France was the first one to intervene in a period of worldwide imperialist expansion. The Western European capitalist powers coming out of the industrial revolution needed to gain areas to invest surplus capital. Capitalism expanded across the globe seeking new markets and cheap labor. France had to maintain its position vis a vis the other imperialist powers. Southeast Asia was a component part of its empire.

After the Second World War when the U.S. emerged as the dominant imperialist power and took the main responsibility for upholding the world capitalist order, it began to consolidate its hold over the colonial empire of the weakened European states. Right after the war, the U.S. began to set up bases to establish its control over all Asia. In Chinese revolution, the U.S., by sending the marines and massively financing the Chiang-Kai Shek regime aided the pro-capitalist forces. In Malasia, the Philippines and all over Asia, the U.S. intervened trying to uphold the colonial empires and extend control throughout the continent. In Vietnam because of the faltering French war effort, the U.S. was forced to take on a bigger role in the war. By 1954 the U.S. even considered using nuclear weapons and armadas of bombers at Dien Bien Phu where the French were being routed but other factors such as the antiwar sentiment at home after the Korean war and the relationship of forces between the capitalist and workers' states forced the Pentagon to give up its plans.

The U.S. has striven throughout the world to beat back the colonial revolution. In China, Korea and Vietnam the U.S. has responded massively to the demands of self-determination by the Asian peoples. In all these Asian countries, the U.S. has aligned itself with and supported the colonial landlords, a few capitalists, army chiefs and pro-U.S.

ice?

Interview with antiwar leader

The upsurge the papers never reported



Protest demonstration against

way and consequently does not build the consciousness about who the enemy of the Canadian national movement is in Canada and does not propel the movement forward.

By placing itself outside the struggle against the real Americanizers of the university, Canadian big business, and by placing itself outside the mainstream of radical politics in Canada, the NDP, TLM condemns itself to be a sect.

On April 22, the International Peace Action Day, thousands of people across the globe demonstrated against U.S. aggression in Indochina. The largest demonstration was held in New York, where 150,000 came into the streets and marched through Times Square to Bryant Park for a massive rally.

On the days leading up to the demonstrations, the U.S. felt an explosion of anti-war sentiment that was hardly mentioned in the North American press. Over 200 universities went on strike against the war and anti-war activity expanded into the high schools, trade unions and other sectors of society.

Richard DeGaetano, the executive secretary of the Toronto Vietnam Mobilization Committee (which has coordinated the Canadian antiwar movement) was invited to N.Y. to participate in the antiwar actions and represent the Canadian antiwar movement.

Following are excerpts of a YS interview with DeGaetano on his return. "You really got a feeling of the impact of the effects of the war and the escalations on the American people. The tremendous upsurge of opposition and protest against the war is cracking at the pillars of American society.

"As soon as I got there the NPAC (National Peace Action Coalition) people grabbed me and had me speaking at mass meetings on New York campuses. It was fantastic: thousands of students in mass democratic meetings, turning their campuses into organizing



New York, April 22.

centres against the war. And not only in New York, but across the States, hundreds of universities and high schools being used as bases to mobilize the community, trade unions, women, gays, black organizations and so on, against the war.

"An alliance of the Student Mobilization Committee and the National Student Association called a student strike for Friday, April 21, which was the largest since the 1970 Cambodia student upsurge. In 1970 the anti-war movement really wasn't prepared for the explosion. They've learned a lot since then, and have been able to give coordination and leadership much more effectively this time around.

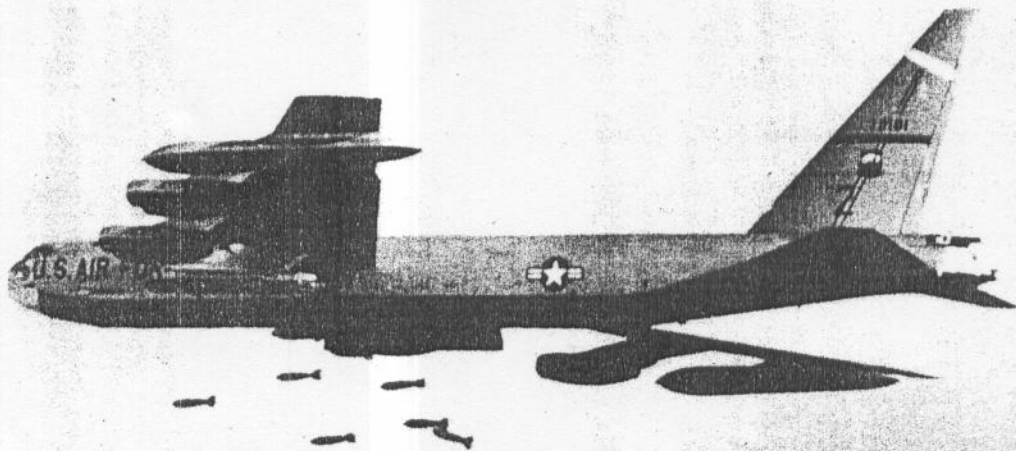
"The April 22 demonstration was really something. It was certainly the largest demo I've been on — people marching 30 abreast for miles in the freezing rain, demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops and material from Indochina.

"There was a powerful angry spirit there, and because everybody was so together, it had an incredible impact. There were contingents of women, gays, Chicanos, blacks, Jewish people, universities, handicapped people, ex-mental patients — there was a contingent for everyone to identify with. The high school contingent had 30,000 people in it.

"At the rally there were speakers including Daniel Ellsberg, John Lennon and Yoko Ono, Andrew Pulley (vice-candidate for the Socialist Workers' Party), the president of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, David Dellinger, important labour leaders, congressmen and so on.

"There were also demonstrations in Los Angeles of 50,000, San Francisco of 5,000 and around the world. In France people demonstrated in 70 cities and 10,000 came out in Paris. Sweden had its largest anti-war demonstration ever of 15,000. West Berlin had 20,000 and 5,000 people demonstrated in both Finland and Denmark. Demonstrations were also held in Japan, New Zealand, Bangladesh, Australia, Belgium, Switzerland, Ireland, Scotland, England, throughout Africa and in a number of other countries, including Canada."

JS refuses to get out of Indochina



finding down the war? Since Nixon took office, U.S. forces have dropped an average of a ton of bombs per minute on

Vietnam. More U.S. planes in action against Vietnam now than at any time in the past.

politicians like Ngo Diem who was kept in power while he remained useful to imperialism. Any attack on these people is an assault on American imperialism. That is why the U.S. will defend tyrants like Nguyen Van Thieu so vigorously.

The colonial strategy of U.S. imperialism received a stunning setback with the victory of the Chinese revolution. Since it ripped a giant portion of the world out of imperialist control, the U.S. now faces many more difficulties in its drive to expand investments and markets. Furthermore this revolution has proved to be an inspiring example to the oppressed people of the world.

The U.S. plans to roll back and smash the Chinese workers' state and for that matter the Russia workers' state as

well. The very existence of these states is a grave threat to imperialism. If the U.S. is to survive as a capitalist power, it must of necessity surround and roll back every socialist revolution. Vietnam has a very important role to play in this strategy. Thus the U.S. has made it part of a ring of bases from Thailand to South Korea, surrounding the Chinese revolution.

Most important of all, the U.S. wants to establish its class rule over the whole world, to set up one vast wage labour camp. If the U.S. could smash the world revolution, it would be able to get new markets for its products and vast reserves of labour to exploit. This development would give imperialism a breathing spell from its difficulties for a whole period.

Another important factor underlining U.S. imperialism's commitment to stay in Southeast Asia is the valuable resources that can be exploited such as oil (already being bought up by U.S. corporations), soybeans, tin, rubber and tungsten.

Also, Indochina is a strategic nation geographically close to several important countries and transportation routes.

The U.S. does not act in a vacuum. It has many very strong pressures limiting its options. It has always escalated its criminal war of aggression in Southeast Asia by stages, careful to gauge the response of the major workers' states, Russia and China. These two countries by refusing to unite in a common front against U.S. aggression have on many

occasions opened the door for escalation as was shown by the revelations in the Pentagon papers.

Antiwar sentiment and upsurges in the United States like May, 1970 and April 24 combined with the antiwar movement throughout the world have forced Nixon to withdraw troops and warped his war aims. In 1968 massive demonstrations in Japan and Europe were one of the major factors in forcing Johnson to stop his heavy bombing of the north. Another element, the massive GI revolts, has also put pressure on the warmakers. It is very hard to carry on an offensive when your soldiers often refuse to go into the jungle.

The most burning impediment for Nixon is the massive heroic struggle of the Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians and Thais.

The Southeast Asia revolution is the central conflict in the whole world between the progressive forces and the forces of reaction. This struggle is of major importance. Upon its outcome depends the fate of the world socialist revolution for decades to come. Vietnam has been a tremendous inspiration to the oppressed people around the world. It has already laid the basis for many struggles and has helped greatly to develop the forces of the left on world-wide scale, including those in the belly of the monster itself, the U.S.

Nixon's new strategy of cutting down troop levels and massively escalating the bombing must be defeated. Nixon must be forced to get out of all of Indochina. As revolutionary socialists, we have a great duty to defend the Vietnamese revolution. It is also an important opportunity to challenge U.S. imperialism — attempt to change history for the better — and build our movement. We must continue to build the antiwar movement calling for the U.S. to withdraw all forces from Southeast Asia and challenging Trudeau to end Canada's complicity in the war to help force the U.S. out of Southeast Asia.

What did the abortion referenda achieve?

by Linda Blackwood

The students of Canada are overwhelmingly in favour of a woman's right to abortion.

That's what the results of 17 campus referenda on the question of repeal of abortion laws show. At 7 of the 17 campuses over 80 percent of those who voted, voted for repealing the laws. And at the University of Alberta the faculties of law, medicine and nursing voted 95 percent for repeal. On every campus where a referendum was held, from Victoria, B.C. to Wolfville, Nova Scotia, a clear majority voted for repeal of the abortion laws.

The question of abortion is clearly an issue of significant concern on campus. At some universities where the referendum appeared on the same ballot as the student council elections, more students voted on the abortion question than for their student government.

The referendums demonstrated in a powerfully graphic way how profound the sentiment for a woman's right to abortion is. If there was ever any doubt of where Canadian students stand, there is none now.

The entire referendum and campaign experience dealt a somewhat devastating blow to the so-called "right to life" groups. The degree to which the demagoguery of these anti-abortion forces has been thoroughly debunked in the student milieu was shown by the referendum results.

Not only did students vote overwhelmingly for repeal of the laws, but even those who voted against, did not follow the propagandistic line of the "right to lifers." For example, at the University of Acadia — of the students who were opposed to abortion only 4.6 percent thought that "abortion constitutes the taking of human life," 1.9 percent thought it amounts to "shirking responsibilities" and 3.8 percent thought "legalizing abortion would promote indiscreet sex practices." The rest of those opposed to abortion responded "other." As well, of the 84 percent who voted in favour of repealing the laws, 60 percent did so, because they supported the woman's



Referenda showed students overwhelmingly in favor of repeal of the anti-abortion laws.

right to make the decision.

But the referenda were not simply cases of thousands of students casting their ballots. They were campaigns, involving thousands of students in a struggle to change the conditions of oppression that women face. Those who oppose a woman's right to control her body mobilized — and were met head-on.

Debates were held where issues were

clarified, the lines were drawn and hundreds of women joined the struggle to win their rights. Petitions were circulated, in dorms, cafeterias and at mass meetings. On many campuses, the student paper became a forum for debate. Student council election candidates were forced to take a stand and defend it. Speakouts and demonstrations were held. Students' councils were

brought into the campaign, not only to sponsor the referenda but to fund the "Vote Yes" campaigns.

In all the referenda constituted the biggest campaign carried by the women's movement in the student milieu, in Canadian history.

Most significantly the campaigns established the abortion movement — the central aspect of the feminist movement — on campuses across the country. They not only verified the existence of a deep concern among students about abortion as well as a profound sentiment for the repeal of the laws, but through the campaigns a cross-country student wing of the movement was forged.

Out of the "vote Yes" campaigns, coalitions of women united to organize against the laws were established across the country.

This is a very important step forward for the feminist movement. For now the central feminist struggle — the struggle for control of our bodies — has taken firm foothold on Canadian campuses. And because students — who have shown their militancy and dedication in staffing the movements for change — have seriously become involved in the campaign, the struggle for abortion and the entire feminist movement have moved to a new stage.

One of the early indications of this is the success of the first "Cross Country Abortion Action Conference" in Winnipeg, which was largely composed of students who came into struggle through the referendum campaign.

Of course this is just the beginning. The campaign is now spreading to the high schools. The students at West Kildonan high school in Winnipeg recently voted 55 percent in favour of repealing the abortion laws. On campus, the referenda results are clearly a mandate for student councils to back the movement with their funds and resources.

And the newly-formed campus coalitions have a firm base to effectively organize and expand the struggle even deeper next fall.

Women debate strategy

"The abortion issue is leading the Feminist movement forward"

Linda Blackwood and Sue Genge

The Peterborough Women's Caucus held a meeting at Trent University to discuss "What Strategy for the Women's Liberation Movement?" Speaking to the meeting were Brenda Dineen, from the Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition and Varda Kidd of the left wing Waffle group in the NDP. A number of key and very important questions were raised by the speakers and by the audience during the discussion period.

Kidd argued that "there is no adequate Marxist analysis sufficient to deal with the woman question". A great deal of discussion centered around the question of whether women are oppressed in society primarily as a sex or as a part of the working class. What strategy was necessary to fight that oppression? In the course of the discussion, the only clear strategy was put forward by Dineen who argued that the abortion campaign should be the central struggle for feminist movement.

Kidd is mistaken when she says there is no Marxist analysis of women's oppression. The Marxist analysis of the woman question goes back as far as the writings of Engels and is developed through a rich history of theory and updated by such current Marxists as Evelyn Reed, author of "Problems of Women's Liberation."

The essence of this analysis is that the oppression of women is rooted in class society which oppresses women as a sex. In primitive classless societies, women enjoyed an equal relationship with men. The advent of private property, the

family and other class institutions led to women's oppression. It follows then that the oppression of women will not be ended until the system that fosters it, capitalism, is destroyed.

Any strategy, then, for women's liberation must involve the mobilization of all women as women against the system that oppresses them. Mass action takes women out of their individual isolation breaking them from their years of training and taking them into political action. It is in mass mobilization that women can unite and find the power they have in numbers. They will learn that their oppression comes not from any weakness on their part, but from the system.

Abortion has emerged as the issue around which the mass movement of women will be built. Dineen pointed out that "On an international scale, we find women from all backgrounds, thousands of them, united to demand the right to abortion."

In Canada the abortion repeal movement has succeeded in uniting such diverse groups as the YWCA, the United Church, feminist groups and socialists around a campaign for repeal. Coalitions demanding repeal and uniting women to win repeal are forming in every province. On Mothers Day this year, representatives of the Canadian Women's Coalition will present the federal government with 75,000 signatures demanding repeal. Already the women in this country have made their views known to Trudeau, the repeal movement has demonstrated, presented briefs, held rallies, etc. to win new

women to the fight and to demonstrate to the government the sentiment of Canadians on this issue. Dineen pointed out that: "It is the abortion issue that is leading the feminist movement forward in Canada, from talk, into action against the government. It is the repeal movement that has given women a sense of identity and given women a sense of the power they hold when they unite."

It is no accident that abortion has emerged as the key issue. The fact that women are denied access to safe legal abortions, denied control over their bodies is a fundamental and important aspect of women's oppression, of keeping women down. All women are affected by a law and a system which denies them the right to decide when and

if they become mothers, when and if they will be forced to drop out of school or pass up a job because of an unwanted pregnancy. As long as the government is allowed to control women's bodies, women will never control their lives.

And it is through the struggle for repeal that women will learn the real reason that the government won't change the laws. The rulers of this country are not concerned with the "sanctity of human life" they are only concerned with denying women any other role than that of breeder of yet another generation of exploited people. Through the struggle for abortion, women will learn that their liberation cannot be won without fundamentally changing the whole society.

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New Morning attempted to lead Halifax Amchitka action in a confrontation with the police.

The "New Morning" police agent affair

by Art Young

In early November, New Morning, a radical group in Halifax announced that it had expelled one of its top leaders as a paid agent of the police.

Dave MacKinnon, a member of the NM Central Staff, had been supplying the cops with information about the left, the personal lives of members, as well as identifying photographs of individuals. Over five months, he was paid about \$3,000 for his work.

MacKinnon did much more than simply feed information to the cops. NM stressed the adventurist, ultra-left role he played within the group, characterizing him as a provocateur. They cited the case of the Eastern Front, a short-lived group which claimed to have fire-bombed a government building. NM stated that in fact MacKinnon was responsible for setting up the terrorist group; they also blamed him for the support that NM had extended to it. This

support was incorrect, NM now held, as the prerequisites for clandestine armed activity did not yet exist in Halifax.

Only a few weeks earlier, NM had attempted to sabotage the Amchitka demonstration, berating the demonstrators for their lack of revolutionary seriousness when they refused to attempt a violent confrontation with the cops. MacKinnon, split from the demonstration, and led a few people into the confrontation, managing to get himself arrested in the process.

The role of agent provocateur is a traditional one for police agents. In a series of frame-up trials, the Black Panther Party has been shown to have been riddled with such types; and recently another provocateur has surfaced in the Harrisburg U.S.A. antiwar conspiracy trial. As demonstrated in these and other instances, provocateurs generally attempt to create divisions and hostility between various groups

and block them from united action. They sow suspicion and distrust. Most often, they are among those seeking to provoke the groups into illegal acts, or violent confrontations with the police that would give the state wide openings to smash the movement. It is clear that this was indeed the task the cops had assigned to MacKinnon.

Such provocateurs thrive in an atmosphere of personal disputes and cliques. They are at home in the politics of the ultra-left, where the violent action of the few is seen as a substitute to building a mass movement. This is also the atmosphere that is the worst for building a strong and growing movement. New Morning, a group which combines ultra-left pick-up-the-gun rhetoric with "serve the people" free-food-type activities offered the police many possibilities for their dirty work.

But the most remarkable aspect of the exposure of MacKinnon was the admission by NM that its leadership was responsible for MacKinnon's police activity: when he was first approached by the cops, the organization instructed him to accept their offers. Naïve beyond description, NM thought itself able to infiltrate the police! Such a reaction is conceivable only from a group like NM which makes a virtue of refusing to learn anything from the past experiences of the revolutionary movement.

Heaping irresponsibility upon irresponsibility, NM used police funds to send MacKinnon on trips across the country to make contact with the groups it felt close to — the Partisan Party in Vancouver, Red Morning in Toronto and "Quebec revolutionaries." It was like a syphillitic Pierre Trudeau kissing his way from coast to coast. MacKinnon, with the agreement of NM, reported to the police on all these trips.

Yet, said NM in its November statement, it had become convinced that MacKinnon was taking his orders from the police, not NM and that his supposed "double agent" role was in fact a myth. They publically warned the left in Canada not to "deal with MacKinnon as he cannot be trusted."

But in April, NM revised its story with a second long statement. Apparently, the real reason NM denounced MacKinnon in November was because it faced an ultimatum from the Partisan Party and Red Morning. Their own experience with MacKinnon had convinced the two groups that he was a provocateur. They charged also that he was in control of NM. Partisans went on to affirm that "MacKinnon tried to implicate us in a conspiracy rap" with his wild proposals.

But, while it had submitted to the ultimatum and expelled MacKinnon five months earlier as "either a conscious pig or fucked up to the extent that he

must be treated as a pig," NM had never believed this to be true, according to its latest statement.

And so, in April, NM gave MacKinnon a clean bill of health, and readmitted him into the organization.

The whole affair boggles the mind. Will the full truth ever be known? Many questions remain: what was MacKinnon's real role? Certainly it was one of extreme provocation. But most of his actions were done with the knowledge and approval of NM which must share the responsibility. Was the "double agent" in fact a cop (as NM first declared) or a loyal member (as is now stated)? And what confidence can the left now have in NM's words, knowing that this group was willing to expel one of its top leaders under charges it thought to be outright lies?

Whatever the truth, it is at least clear that the confusion and suspicion created have amply repaid the police for their efforts. The MacKinnon affair has shown, and it is no small irony, that it is precisely those groups who talk so loosely about "fighting fascism" and



Dave MacKinnon

"offing the pig" that offer the police the most fertile arenas for provocation.

The left is best defended by those who understand the seriousness of the struggle, and who reject all concepts of "revolution for the hell of it" or of naively attempting to play games with the state. While provocateurs seek to promote division and suspicion, the movement is best protected when political questions are discussed openly and frankly, decided democratically, and tested in action. Ideas should always be carefully formulated so as to put the onus for violence on the government, where it belongs.

This is, in any case, the best way to build the movement.

For \$ 5000 you too can "Dare to be great"

by Dave Tapscott, Orillia

You too can be a successful capitalist. At least so says a bizarre new organization that has recently appeared in Canada. It's called "Dare to Be Great."

I was introduced to this strange phenomenon when a friend took a couple of us aside to mention that he had made \$1000 last week. He had been selling "motivation" for Dare To Be Great, Inc.

What was this motivation he was selling? He wouldn't say. However he did invite us to attend a special explanatory meeting. Intrigued, we decided to go along.

Next week he took us to a Holiday Inn conference room where 200 effervescent people seemed quite excited. As the meeting began, a group of people stood up and shouted in unison "Southern Ontario is number one: Go, Go, Go, GO, GO!"

It was like a high school basketball game. Presently a jovial MC got up, welcomed everyone and announced that we were about to see a film about John Turner, the man who founded Dare to Be Great. Turner's story was the Classical American Dream Come True. From humble beginnings as a poor sharecropper with a hare lip and a perforated eardrum, he read a book on

positive thinking, borrowed \$5000 and within 24 months had made a \$100 million. He supposedly now owns approximately 70 corporations over \$300 million.

After the film, another speaker ("the great so and so") was introduced to a standing ovation. Through his confession of how he "dared to be great" he would pause to raise his fist and everyone

responded raising theirs and shouting "Go Go Go GO GO!" Whenever he mentioned money, everyone would raise their hands high, rubbing their fingers. The pressure to conform to this group pathological behaviour was tremendous.

The next speaker rapidly explained the economics behind Dare to Be Great. With machine gun calculations on a chalk board he proved how everyone there could make \$50,000 to \$100,000 a year in their spare time.

Here's how it works. To get involved you enter "Adventure 1" and pay \$400. The person responsible for enlisting you gets \$160 or 40 percent commission. As a new subscriber you receive a tape recorder, a sales course and a self-actualizing course on how to be confident and sell yourself. When you've completed Adventure 1 you can go on to Adventure 2, 3 and 4. The farther you go, the more it costs and the more the enlister's commission is. (Adventure 4 costs \$5,000 and the enlister makes \$2,000). After each Adventure you are qualified to become an enlister and to make a commission for each person you bring in.

It is sort of a self-perpetuating rip-off. After the next speaker, who had been a bar-room brawler before he was saved by Dare to Be Great, came the big pitch

— the "Go Tour."

They heaved us to come up to the front of the room and register for a free "Go Tour", where we would travel to North American cities to meet the dare to be great "Greats."

About 25 half excited, half terrorized people came up to the stage amid the applause, cheers and salutes of most of the others there.

It was like a Billy Graham mass rally. Most of them would probably "Dare to Be Great" and all but one or two would simply be ripped off in the process.

Dare To Be Great seems to be an anachronistic effort to resuscitate the corpse of free-enterprise capitalism. But that day is long gone. It died with the evolution of the giant multi-national corporations that evolved around the beginning of this century and now direct the lives of millions across the globe. More likely, it is just another gimmick by a handful of businessmen to accrue more capital.

As Dare To Be Great grows, it will undoubtedly play a destructive role in the lives of many youth; but it will also point out to others very sharply, the insanity of a system and society that defines greatness by the amount of money one human has been able to extract from others.



YS review

The genesis of women's oppression

by Kathy Dalton

To all those suspecting that women have been hoodwinked into thinking they are the inferior sex who should be satisfied being little more than household drones; to those suspecting that women have brains, talents, sexual and reproductive organs and have been robbed of their freedom, expression and creative abilities in most spheres of life

Problems of Women's Liberation will provide answers. This book is a serious compilation of data based on years of study and research by noted Marxist anthropologist, Evelyn Reed, in her area of specialization, the roots of women's oppression.

Problems of Women's Liberation has just been released in its 5th edition and has been enlarged with current supplementations. Since its first printing just two years ago it has met a major response primarily due to the resurgence in our era of the consciousness and activity of the oppressed sex in our society — women.

Everyone concerned about women's liberation views the objective oppression of women today and wonders: Why does this situation exist? Is it justifiable and necessary? Are women biologically, naturally, inferior?

Reed, through diligent research takes up these questions. She exposes the difficulties in undertaking this task due to a paucity of data. History, as its name reveals, has been written primarily from the standpoint of the master classes and the master sex. To maintain superior status, those in control must squelch information undermining that

control. Reed's thesis that women are unjustly oppressed in today's society and should launch a struggle to regain their rights which will necessitate a revolution in the organization of society, undermines the status quo.

Unlike our position in society today, Reed reveals that women were not always oppressed. Throughout the epoch of tribal collectivism, the majority of humanity's timespan, women were respected leaders. The downfall of women coincided with the breakup of the matriarchal clan collectivity and its replacement by class-divided society with its institutions of the patriarchal family, private property and state power.

Women were leaders. They are obviously not considered to be so today. Why? What happened to displace women to an oppressed status?

The key factors in reversing women's status came out of the transition in production from a food gathering way of life to a higher mode of economy based on agriculture, stock raising and urban crafts.

The first division of labor, as humanity evolved from the ape, was a division based on sex. The first humans lived collectively because that was necessary for safety, for procreation, and to sustain life. The tribes were nomadic, gathering food from an area as long as it existed.

It was women, due to their child-bearing function, who stayed at the campsite gathering food and forming the nucleus of the first human collectives. Men were relegated to the hunt. Women



were responsible for forging the first great leaps for humanity due to their assignment. Their collective labor enabled them to develop language; the proximity to soil led to medicinal discoveries; and it is to women the credit belongs for developing the first

surplus of food — the basic requisite for the advancement of humanity.

The first surplus created the material base allowing for functions in the clan other than the search for food. Population grew; animals could be trapped and fed. The hunt, always an unstable food supply, became even less valuable. Men, freed from this job, were able to develop many inventions from the first inventions of women.

Women continued about their same crucial tasks. Women's work remained constant as other, new social tasks became increasingly important and controlled by men. As habitable land expanded, through increased land cultivation and stock raising, the communal clan ripped apart as people moved far distances. Women's collective strength weakened. The surplus wealth was gradually appropriated by a hierarchy of men as their private property. This forged the institution of marriage and the family. To protect the valuable and scarce private property armed territories were bounded called states, to protect, fortify and legalize institutions upholding male domination.

This is the Marxist approach to the origins of women's oppression. Her subordination was not due to biological deficiency as a sex. It was the result of revolutionary social changes encompassing thousands of years which destroyed the egalitarian society of the gens or clan and replaced it with patriarchal class society which from its birth was stamped with discrimination and inequality.

Reed proves that our society rose up on the subjugation of women. Women working unpaid in the home, raising the next labor force and maintaining the isolated, competitive and repressive family unit for the development of class society are vital to capitalism. The profiteers won't pay for child care, safe birth control, abortions, equal pay, or equal education and employment.

For an end to our oppression and for our liberation, capitalism must be overthrown. Reed, in **Problems of Women's Liberation**, fuels the angry fight of our sisters and brothers for change, with the theoretical weaponry necessary to know change is possible and justified.

Movie review

The Godfather: A glimpse of America

by Sharon Romauldi

The latest Paramount release, *The Godfather*, has been the cause for much box office rejoicing. Tens of thousands of people have seen it since it first premiered a short while ago. The movie presents a picture of organized crime and what it means to America.

Marlon Brando gives a powerfully believable performance as Don Vito Corleone, the Godfather himself.

The movie portrays an underworld family steadily gaining more power by buying off the police and politicians of New York and outmaneuvering (and sometimes killing) its competitors in the underground. It operates in much the same manner as the real rulers of the United States, the capitalist class.

The underground makes money through illegal means while the bourgeoisie, by condemning the

"illegal" methods of exploitation of the Mafia, makes its "legal" methods appear more just and respectable. Indeed the Corleone family portrayed in the movie, seeing that the legal and respectable ways of making money are more regular and safer consciously attempt to improve its image. One scene portraying this has the family head participating as a godfather in a catholic baptism with all its religious pomp while the camera constantly cuts to the assassinations the family is carrying out at the same time.

We see how the family set-up and the inter-relationships between different family businesses serves to propagate the wealth and power of the rich. Picture the different elements of the ruling class sitting across the boardroom table deciding the fate of the Vietnamese and compare this to that scene in *The Godfather* where the heads of the dif-

ferent families are attempting in the name of "respectable business" to iron out an accepted way to exploit blacks in the ghettos by the sale of heroin. As one family head put it, "We can trust one another, after all, we're not Communists."

The movie portrayed the limited role women are supposed to play within the confines of motherhood. Their sole function is to have and raise kids so that the wealth and power can be handed down from generation to generation through the men. The most symbolic scene portraying this was the one when the door that physically separated the wife from her husband was closed on her when it came to discussions of business.

The Godfather, though it gave us an exciting insight into the underground, portrayed only part of the total reality of organized crime. The film doesn't show the prostitutes, blacks and countless other people that the Corleone family exploited. We see the family killing only despicable gang leaders. As a result Don Vito Corleone tends to be seen in a sympathetic light by the audience.

In addition, the movie didn't portray the really significant gangsters — the super rich — who control the mass media, the government, the big politicians and the army.

Although *The Godfather* exposes much of the rotten underside of U.S. society, the liberal big business press and media can safely promote it. It neither shows people where the real power lies nor allows them to identify with any exploited social layer that can move to change the system like the Blacks are doing today.

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The Movement

Ontario elects YS editor

Young Socialist, Tom Baker has been elected Editor of the Guelph University campus paper, The Ontario.

Over the past few months a majority of the Ontario staff have become dissatisfied with the direction and editor of the paper. They felt it wasn't adequately dealing with the problems and challenges that face students and that it had become largely irrelevant to students.

In discussions on who they thought should edit the paper they concluded that the Young Socialists had been involved in the kind of activities and had the kind of analysis of the student movement and society that the Ontario should carry. So they approached the Guelph YS and asked them to supply someone who would become editor.

At the staff's election meeting the YS candidate, Tom Baker, was elected.

However there is opposition to the new editor. Right-wing president of the Student's council (the CCP), Jim Ashman is trying to block the election. Ashman attended the staff meeting where the Editor was chosen and attempted to declare the vote invalid. Although he was soundly defeated and forced to leave the meeting he hasn't given up.

Ashman's latest move has been to try and cut off funds to the Ontario. He has also started to publish his own CCP paper.

These attacks are the most recent in a series of maneuvers across the country by right-wing student council leaders to block the election of radical campus paper editors.

However, it appears that the conservative council leaders will be defeated, just as they were at McGill, University of Alberta and others. The Ontario will continue to publish and has received support from other campus papers and organizations.

"Art should be a trigger"

TORONTO: Roy Ascott, the President of the Ontario College of Art has been suspended by the College's Governing Council. The move is part of a clean-up program by the big business dominated council in which Ascott and 2 others have lost their jobs.

When Ascott became president he brought with him a conception of Art and what an Art College should be that was completely discordant with that of the Governing Council. Ascott says a work of art should not be an object: "It's a trigger. It's part of a process. It's function is to create new alternatives, new systems, new images. You've got to think of art as a trigger which creates change."

Since he arrived the college has been transformed towards becoming a centre of experimentation, change and creativity in the real sense of the word. There are no exams: only critiques. There are no classes only probes where the teacher and student are fellow seekers. Students can acquire skills like welding and air brushing: but only after school hours. All evidence indicated that the overwhelming majority of students found this new direction very exciting.

But this was not exactly what the Governing Council had in mind for its college. The College used to produce skilled artists who upon graduation could play crucial functions for the business world — especially in advertising — designing detergent boxes, drawing fashions for catalogues, doing graphics for ads, creating product displays etc.

All this about art being a "trigger for change," "a process of creating alternatives" and so-on was completely horrifying for them. So they have moved to clean it up.

But it seems the fight had really just begun. A number of students and faculty have mobilized to defend Ascott and the other victimized staff. Already in a hastily assembled one night art sale they raised \$2500 for the defense campaign.

Dr. Bohn - "Impostor professor"

BRANDON, MANITOBA: Dr. Martin J. Bohn recently had his contract as an associate professor of psychology at Brandon University terminated. Apparently, the administration discovered he is an impostor with a phony name and phony credentials.

Because of significant student, faculty and public concern with the scandal, the Brandon Young Socialists were able to intervene and raise some more fundamental questions. They widely distributed a statement explaining how the "Impostor professor Incident" showed the necessity of a university democratically run by the students and faculty. Following are brief excerpts from their statement:

"The 'Dr. Bohn — Impostor Professor' incident brings into question not only the manner in which teaching staff are hired by the university, but the

nature of the whole university itself. . .

"We suggest that students should have a say — an equal say — in matters of hiring, firing, promotion and course content. This is a basic democratic demand upon which students have every right to insist."

"Student — faculty control of the university makes good sense. The creation of decision-making bodies comprised of students and faculty would provide the opportunity for students and faculty to make decisions that directly affect them."

"Dr. Bohn apparently received much student — faculty criticism for his teaching practices. But this criticism was swept under the rug in the light of Dr. Bohn's 'scholarly background.' The criticism was never adequately aired to any decision making body; nor could it have been. No such body exists."

"This criticism should have been expressed to an elected student — faculty committee with powers to examine the situation and take necessary action. If Bohn was a poor instructor — phony credentials or not — his contract should not have been removed, 'scholarly background' not withstanding. The same rule should apply to poor instructors with genuine credentials. The point is who decides the merits or demerits of an individual instructor? Who holds the power?"

Gay teachin shocks Socreds

by Duncan McLean

VICTORIA: Gay liberation has no place in B.C. secondary schools, and sex education is a lot of ridiculous nonsense. So declared the Social Credit government MLA George Mussallem in the B.C. legislature.

The Sacred attack came as a response to a Gay Liberation teach-in held in a New Westminster Secondary. The teach-in, organized by members of the Young Socialists and featuring members of the Gay Activist Alliance Towards Equality who spoke on the oppression of homosexuals in this society, was a tremendous success.

During each of three periods a large classroom was packed, bringing the total attendance to over 400. And while "queer baiting" was there, the over-all reaction and effect on the majority of the audience was very positive.

Within days the establishment was responding. The headline in the first section of the Vancouver Sun went: "Gay Liberation Rally in School Shocks Sacred MLA," with a subtitle: "We're spending too much, Children learning too much."

Mussallem led the way.

"I'm even ashamed to stand up in this house and talk about this" he confessed. "Is childhood gone forever? Must a child have passed through the whole gamut of life before he is 17?" he demanded.

"And I ask you, Mr. Minister" he called across to Education Minister Donald Brothers, "put a stop to this ridiculous nonsense!"

"Sex is not complicated — why do they have to teach it in school?" he asked. "God in his omnipotence made it for everyone, but not to be used in this ridiculous way," he said, horrified.

"Come out of the woods" Dr. Wallace, PC-MLA called out.

"Ignorance is bliss" remarked Alex MacDonald, (NDP Vancouver East).

NDP Leader Dave Barret said sex education was needed, and called to Mussallem, "Don't stick your head in the sand, there's a real world out there." Barret said students should be taught the realities of life, and that members of political groups should also be allowed in to talk to students.

"That's a bunch of crap and you know it" snapped Dr. McDiarmid, another Social Credit MLA.

When the dust cleared, the New Westminster School Board and administration took their cue and called for a "cooling off" period before any further "controversial" speakers were to come to the school.

It is in the elementary, junior and senior high schools that the capacity to love individuals of your own sex is most harshly crushed by the whole repressive environment, sexist curriculum and social pressure as everyone, including those consciously gay out of fear and guilt, condemn this healthy aspect of human sexuality.

The Gay Liberation movement in Vancouver has made important inroads through educational and political campaigns in helping raise the consciousness of countless numbers.

The ruling class politicians are very justified in their panic.

Captain Gilmour won't be back

VANCOUVER: Captain Gilmour found it very difficult to hold his recent Army recruitment meeting at David Thompson High School. When he arrived at the school he was met by members of the D.T. anti-war club, chanting "CAF (Canadian Armed Forces) OUT

NOW!" and "WAR MONGERS GO HOME."

The demonstrators pointed out that especially because of the recent escalation on the war in Indochina, the possibility of sending Canadian peace-keeping troops and the subsequent recruitment of campus and high school students was increasing.

It was quite a scene. The students were demanding that the war recruiters leave: the flabbergasted captain was urging the principal to lock the door to the meeting room; the principal was trying to deal with the 4 news reporters who were flashing around; and all in all the Canadian Armed Forces wasn't making much progress.

The action was part of the consistent work being done in the high school by the antiwar club to oppose the U.S. and Canadian war machines. Last fall the club helped force a referendum on the Amchitka bomb blast in which 93.4 percent voted in favour of walking out in protest. On March 29, 400 students participated in a protest rally there, as part of the cross-Canada student day of protest. The club has also been involved in fighting against educational cutbacks — pointing out how increases in war spending and cutbacks in educational spending are linked. As well it is initiating a campaign to win the right of student groups to use school facilities without having a teacher sponsor. Already they have 250 signatures demanding this right.

With action like this at David Thompson High School it is unlikely that Captain Gilmour or any of his kind will show up again.

France: students radicalize

The conservative French newspaper Le Figaro, hired a polling company to question "a national sampling of 1,000 youth, representing the whole French population between the ages of 15 and 20." Here are the results of two of the 5 questions asked.

Q: Do you think things will develop without upheavals, or on the contrary, that we are heading towards deep, social crises (economic, social, moral?)

A: Things will develop without upheavals 21 percent
We are heading toward deep crises 69 percent
No opinion 10 percent

Q: With which of these two opinions do you tend to agree?

A: To improve the condition of the French people, certain reforms are needed, but the present organization of society need not be challenged — 32 percent.

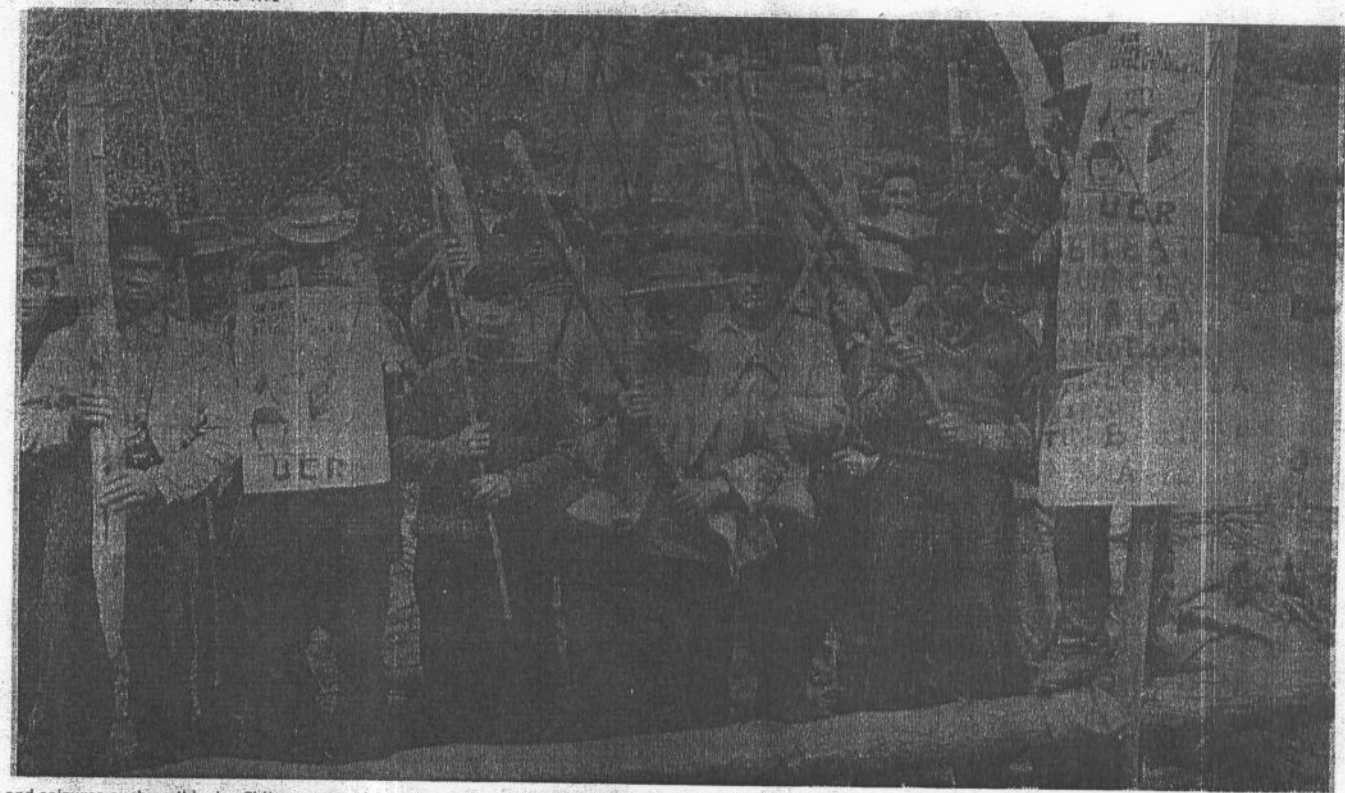
The condition of the French people cannot really be improved by simple reforms. The present organization of society must be profoundly transformed 58 percent

No opinion 10 percent

These results indicate that nearly 70 percent of French youth between the ages of 15 and 20 think France is heading towards a deep crisis and nearly 60 percent are in favour of a profound restructuring of society or a revolutionary solution.



Many different people and movements are active in the fight against capitalism and imperialism. YOUNG SOCIALIST reports the activities, debates and discussions in those movements. Keep in touch — Subscribe, \$1.00 a year, Box 517, Station A, Toronto, Ontario.



Land seizures such as this, by Chilean peasants, pose a major challenge to Chile's "socialist" government.

Chile: can you elect a revolution?

by Paul Knight

In September, 1970, Salvador Allende, head of *Unidad Popular* (Popular Unity) was named throughout the world as the "first freely elected Marxist president in the Western Hemisphere." Once again, the Left everywhere is confronted with the question of the 'ballot box revolution'. Is Chile really undergoing a 'peaceful transition' to socialism?

In "The Chilean Revolution — Conversations with Allende", the "Marxist" president writes, "Chile showed the world that... the people, using the legal and institutional means created by the bourgeoisie can seize the reins of government by electoral means to undertake the construction of socialism." The Communist Party in Canada and around the world echoes him: "The people are and will remain united... in the desire to make profound changes and to march toward socialism under the banner of the constitution and of present laws or those the country is going to obtain." (*Canadian Tribune*, Jan. 12, 1972). These claims negate Marxism's most elementary lesson: that every capitalist state apparatus serves the interests of that nation's ruling class and cannot be turned to advantage by those it oppresses. To arrive at socialism the Chilean workers, peasants and students must abolish the existing state and replace it with one of their own. Allende, by remaining within juridical confines, refuses to attempt it. This charge is borne out by the concrete situation in Chile: the bourgeoisie still controls the economy and the state. The power of the armed forces has not been diminished, diminished.

Popular Unity is a combination of the reformist Communist Party, which takes its line straight from Moscow, (for instance, it supported the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia), the Socialist Party, betrayer of the workers' cause many times over and five bourgeois parties including the Radical Party, once the largest pro-capitalist political party in the country. This totals one class collaborationist coalition in which none of the partners are willing to take genuinely revolutionary initiatives.

Allende's nationalization program is

vastly overrated. His celebrated copper takeover had been half completed by Eduardo Frei of the previous pro-American Christian Democratic regime, who bought a controlling interest in the monopoly of Anaconda and Kennecott copper. All told, less than 1 percent of the 30,500 businesses in Chile are slated for possible expropriation, none of which include various U.S. holdings — an estimated \$377 million worth in 1968. (Nov. 4, 1970 *Washington Post*.)

Partisans of the 'Chilean road to socialism' argue that Chile is at an 'anti-imperialist stage' in its development. But though Popular Unity talks of opposing 'imperialist intervention', it has not yet placed a state monopoly on foreign trade — a prerequisite for freeing Chile from the inflationary world market — nor has it severed its intimate links with the Pentagon. One 'bilateral accord' for example, provides for Chilean army officers to be sent to Panama for training by the U.S. in 'anti-subversive' operations.

Allende's land reform program, effected under previous regime's Agrarian Reform Law, limits the size of expropriations and insults farm workers with long bureaucratic procedures before allowing them access. 'Unlawful' land seizures can be frustrated by carabineers, (the national police) and armed landlords, as on last October 22 when Moises Huentelaf, a Mapuche peasant leader, was murdered during a ranch occupation in the South.

To date Allende has not even taken over as much land as the Frei regime did — but then Allende is a reformist, not a revolutionary. He would like to guarantee industrialists their profits and workers their wage raises; grant reforms to the peasants without undue inconvenience to the landlords. He is trying to reconcile intrinsically antagonistic classes; a balancing act which, needless to say, is doomed to failure.

Popular Unity cannot act effectively on behalf of the masses as long as it strictly adheres to the Chilean constitution, a body of laws designed as much as possible to protect the interests of the capitalist class. It upholds the sanctity of private property, for example, an institution of value only to a small

minority. Also, it provides for the existence of powerful bodies, the army, police and judiciary, which are controlled by the dominant class and being relatively free from the electoral process, are in a position to hamper the implementation of reforms.

Allende's respect for the state apparatus made him compromise his program in order to gain power; something a revolutionary socialist would never have done. As he didn't win a majority in the 1970 election, the outcome was referred to the CDP-dominated congress for decision. Allende made a deal with them and his subsequent inauguration was based on certain concessions. For example: No replacement of CDP-appointed functionaries in the state bureaucracy; no diminution in the size of the armed forces.

Moreover, because reforms are limited to areas of agreement with the majority in Congress, Allende can be obstructed by the right as long as he sticks to legal procedure.

Parliamentarianism in effect gives the bourgeoisie free rein to consciously sabotage reforms. Dilatory agrarian action has permitted landowners to take their cattle to Argentina, causing a meat scarcity. Also, the system allowed the Chilean Chamber of Construction to systematically retard the plan for 100,000 houses for poor workers in 1971. Reactions like these arise from a legalism which insists that all reforms traverse the labyrinthine parliament and state bureaucracies.

Allende's deference to bourgeois legality is exceeded only by his toadying to the army and police, the ultimate defenders of capitalism. He said, "I have the utmost confidence in the loyalty" of the armed forces. (*New York Times*, March 28, 1971). However, the "trustworthiness" of the typical officer-led Latin American army was shown when it turned on the workers' movement in Bolivia last year, killing hundreds in a right wing coup d'état. A real socialist would arm the people, but Allende, by defending the law against workers' and peasants' so-called 'private' militias assures the ruling class that during his tenure the masses will not run Chile.

Continual temporizing has brought a crisis to Popular Unity. From the Left, mass mobilizations keep threatening to break through the barrier of reformism. For instance, in 1971 there were 1554 occupations of bourgeois property, compared to 1196 for the three previous years. And in Parliament the Right is flexing its muscles — the opposition recently passed the Hamilton Bill, designed to curb nationalizations.

But while the Chilean bourgeoisie takes full advantage of the bureaucratic parliamentary process, it should not be assumed to confine its future anti-government activities to this arena. It did not create the army and police only to watch the gradual erosion of its wealth, power and privilege by pieces of paper in a ballot box. Whether by sabotage, military coup or a fascist movement, the bourgeoisie can be expected to stage an attack on the government as soon as it has consolidated its power. Given this imminent danger, the masses should be immediately organized to protect themselves.

The world Communist Party's talk of a 'peaceful road to socialism' is sheer perfidy. No rulers have relinquished their position without a fight. The CP is not preparing the proletariat for the inevitable confrontation, but would leave them defenceless before their class enemy, looking for a road that doesn't exist.

The only road to socialism in any capitalist country is the road so many Chileans are on already: that of mass mobilizations against oppression. Peasant land occupations, university occupations and the demand for workers' control of production are revolutionary manifestations.

Keeping the struggle within the confines of parliament will only lead to defeat. The road ahead in Chile leads past reforms and on to their logical conclusion — an armed war for state power. Socialism in Chile will be the realization of the demands of the mass movements.

To lead these struggles to victory a Leninist party which is completely independent of the ruling class is necessary.

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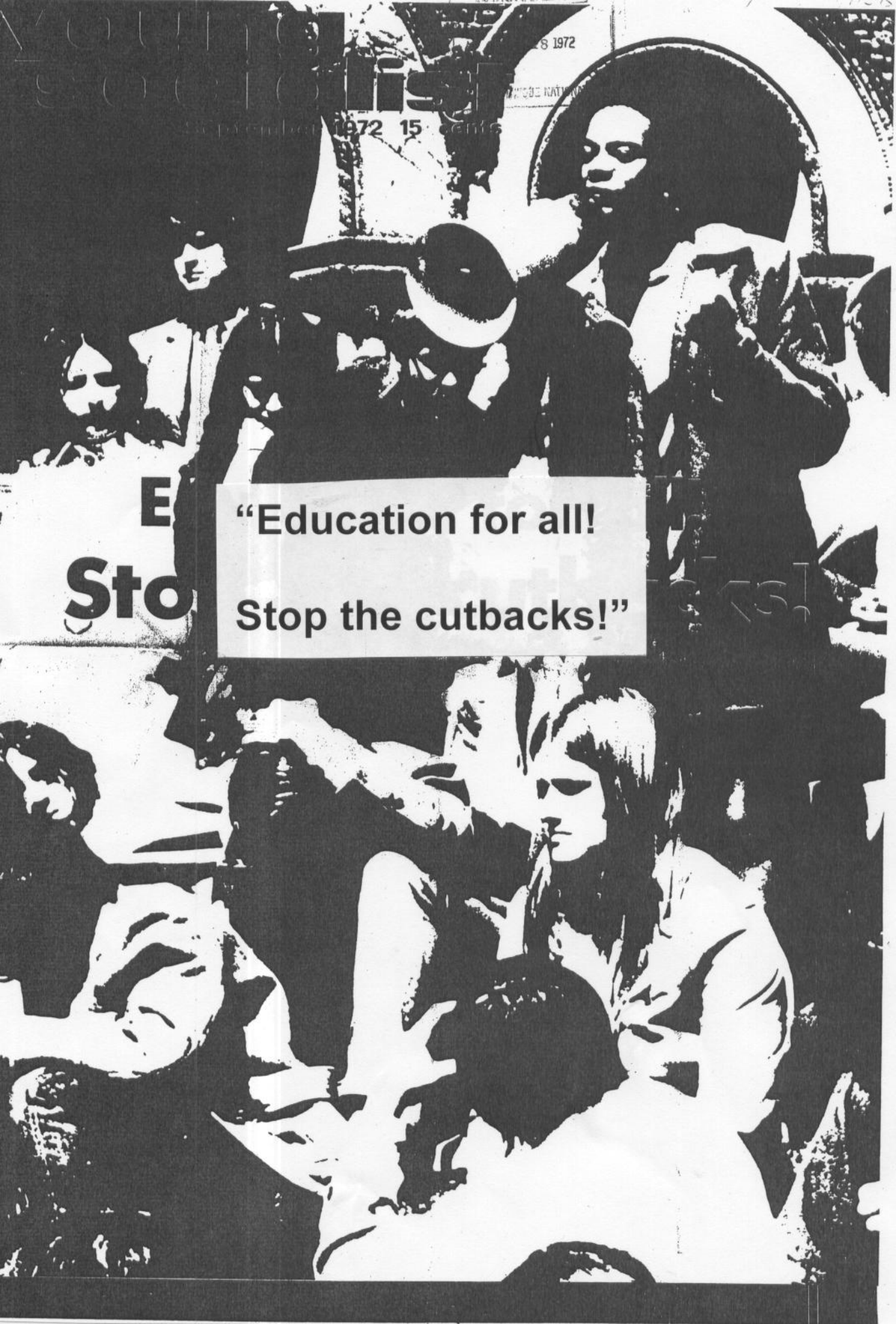
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**"Education for all!
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The roots of the student revolt

The 1968 May-June events in France marked a new level in the struggle for socialism in the advanced capitalist countries. Massive student strikes, occupations and the battle of 30,000 students against the police during the "night of the barricades" on May 10 led to an explosive upsurge of the French working class. Militant workers seized the major factories leading to a demonstration against the government of one million workers. Despite the profound paralyzation of the French capitalist state there was no mass Leninist party which could lead the struggle to its conclusion — the seizure of state power by the workers and their allies. The powerful French Communist Party used all of its efforts to put the lid on the upsurge. After June the struggle subsided.

Following is the first section of a speech by Ernest Mandel, the noted Belgian Marxist, that was given at a meeting of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR) in the great hall of the Mutualite in Paris on May 9, the eve of the night of the barricades. The meeting was attended by six thousand student militants and revolutionary youth.

We are printing the speech because it is of particular relevance to the debates among radical youth in Canada and Quebec today on the origins, nature and importance of the student movement in our era.

Any analysis of the student revolt must start from one basic consideration: the university explosion. A new social grouping has emerged from the very vitals of neocapitalism, from all that it considers its essential "achievement": the higher standard of living, the advances in technology and the mass media, and the requirements of automation. There are six million university students in the United States, two and a half in West Europe, and over a million in Japan. And it proved impossible to integrate this grouping into the neocapitalist system as it functions in West Europe, the United States, or Japan.



The students have not found the necessary material facilities for their studies in the universities. They have not found the kind of education they were looking for. And above all when they leave the universities it is getting harder and harder for them to find the kind of jobs they rightly expected when they started their university education.

Here I must reply to a certain person claiming to be a representative of the Jeunesse Socialiste SFIO (the SFIO Young Socialists — the youth group of the right-wing Social Democratic party). This individual wrote the other day in a column in the "Libres Opinions" section of Le Monde (this is a guest feature column for the expression of differing viewpoints which appears regularly in this Paris daily) describing "our" society as a "society of abundance," a society in which "everyone" is now guaranteed full employment and a steady rise in his standard of living.

He did not put his glasses on when he read the West European unemployment statistics. He did not see that in the last two winters there were three million unemployed in Western Europe. He did not see that the number of unemployed in France itself topped a half million — and this in the midst of a government-proclaimed economic expansion. He did not notice the large number of young people in this mass of unemployed — to say nothing of the still larger number which the statistics don't include. He did not see that the unemployment rate among the youth in the black ghettos of the United States exceeds twenty per cent — which explains a lot of things.

In brief, what he, like innumerable devotees of neocapitalism, failed to see is that this system, far from solving all economic and social problems, has not even remedied the basic evils of nineteenth-

century capitalism, while it has added a series of new contradictions that have proved more and more insoluble.

This neocapitalism confronts the student youth with insoluble contradictions not only in the university but also in the economy and in bourgeois society, which is in permanent crisis. (Applause.)

Some people have talked about the inadequacy of the universities and, like good reformists, called for university reform. Therefore, when the students turned their backs on this reform of the bourgeois university, they accused them of rejecting dialogue. But what the students in revolt rejected was in fact dialogue within the preestablished and supposedly immutable framework of the bourgeois state, of the bourgeois governments in West Europe and Japan.

The students have been told: "The budget isn't large enough to guarantee all of you the university buildings, professors and assistants, restaurants, dormitories, and above all the high quality education you demand right away. You have to be satisfied with gradually changing the existing situation, which we all agree is unsatisfactory." And when the students are told this, they are a thousand times right to answer: "Stop this bilge about the appropriation for education and the resources of the public bodies. Talk in terms of the economic resources available in this society. Admit that while there isn't enough money for the universities, there is more than enough for advertising and superfluous gadgets. Admit that the reason you can't find the billions needed for a university system fit for the twentieth century is because you're squandering billions for your 'force de frappe' (France's nuclear striking force). Admit that you are stifling in embryo immense productive, technological, cultural, and intellectual forces because you prefer to create destructive forces." (Long applause.)

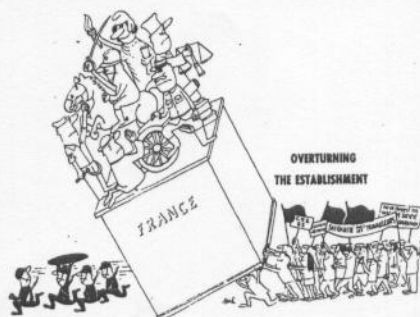
In this sense, and rightly, the students reject "dialogue" and reject "university reform" in the context of bourgeois society. For, they have understood the nature of this society. And this awareness in combination with their special situation in society has made them the weakest link in the neocapitalist chain today, the first to crack throughout the Western world.

What the student revolt represents on a much broader social and historic scale is the colossal transformation of the productive forces which Marx foresaw in his Grundrisse (Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy): the reintegration of intellectual labor into productive labor, men's intellectual capacities becoming the prime productive force in society.

This is still embryonic and is unrealizable within the framework of capitalist society but it is already powerfully announcing itself. In speaking of a third industrial revolution, of a scientific revolution, many bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, or Marxist sociologists and economists have had a presentiment of this. But they have not always drawn the obvious social conclusion about the place of intellectual workers in society.

When we hear pseudo-Marxists talking disdainfully about the students as "bourgeois youth" and "future bourgeois" we see a threefold error.

First of all, they fail to understand the university explosion which has made these "bourgeois youth" a small minority today in the student world (as the children of workers are also still a tiny minority today). Next, they do not understand that as a result of profound changes in intellectual employment the majority of university graduates will no longer be bosses, or professionals, or even direct agents of the



May-June 1968. French high school occupying their school indicate solidarity with striking workers.

bosses with strictly supervisory functions, but white-collar employees of the state or industry, and thus part of the great mass of salaried workers. Finally, they do not understand the specific character of the student milieu as a special social stratum, into which students from bourgeois backgrounds often assimilate, breaking their ties with their family environment without yet being integrated into the social environment of their professions-to-be.

And underlying this threefold error is their unwillingness to understand, or accept, a fundamental fact — that man's chief productive force will be his creative intellectual power. (Applause.) This intellectual power is only potentially productive today because capitalist society beats it down and stamps it out as pitilessly as it beats down the personality and creative impulse of the manual workers.

There is then at the base of the student revolt a high consciousness of a new dimension which neocapitalism has added to the classical alienation of labor produced by capitalist society, produced by all societies based on buying and selling. (Applause.)

We can say that this intellectual labor power is doubly revolutionary and productive today. It is so because it is conscious of the enormous wealth it promises, which could lead us rapidly to a classless society, to abundance. It is so because it is conscious of all the contradictions, injustices, and barbarities of contemporary capitalism, and because the results of its becoming conscious are profoundly revolutionary.

The development of this consciousness occurred first of all among the students for a very simple reason: because the traditional organizations of the workers movement are profoundly bureaucratized and long since coopted into bourgeois society. When the workers movement does not erect multiple barriers against the penetration of bourgeois ideology into the working class, most of the workers succumb, at least in "normal" conditions, to the preponderant influence of bourgeois ideas — as Marx and Lenin never failed to repeat.

However, in the student milieu, a larger minority, precisely because they are in a more privileged social and intellectual situation than the workers, can free themselves by individual thought from the constant manipulation and mental conditioning of the great public-opinion molding instruments in the service of bourgeois society and capitalism. (Applause.)

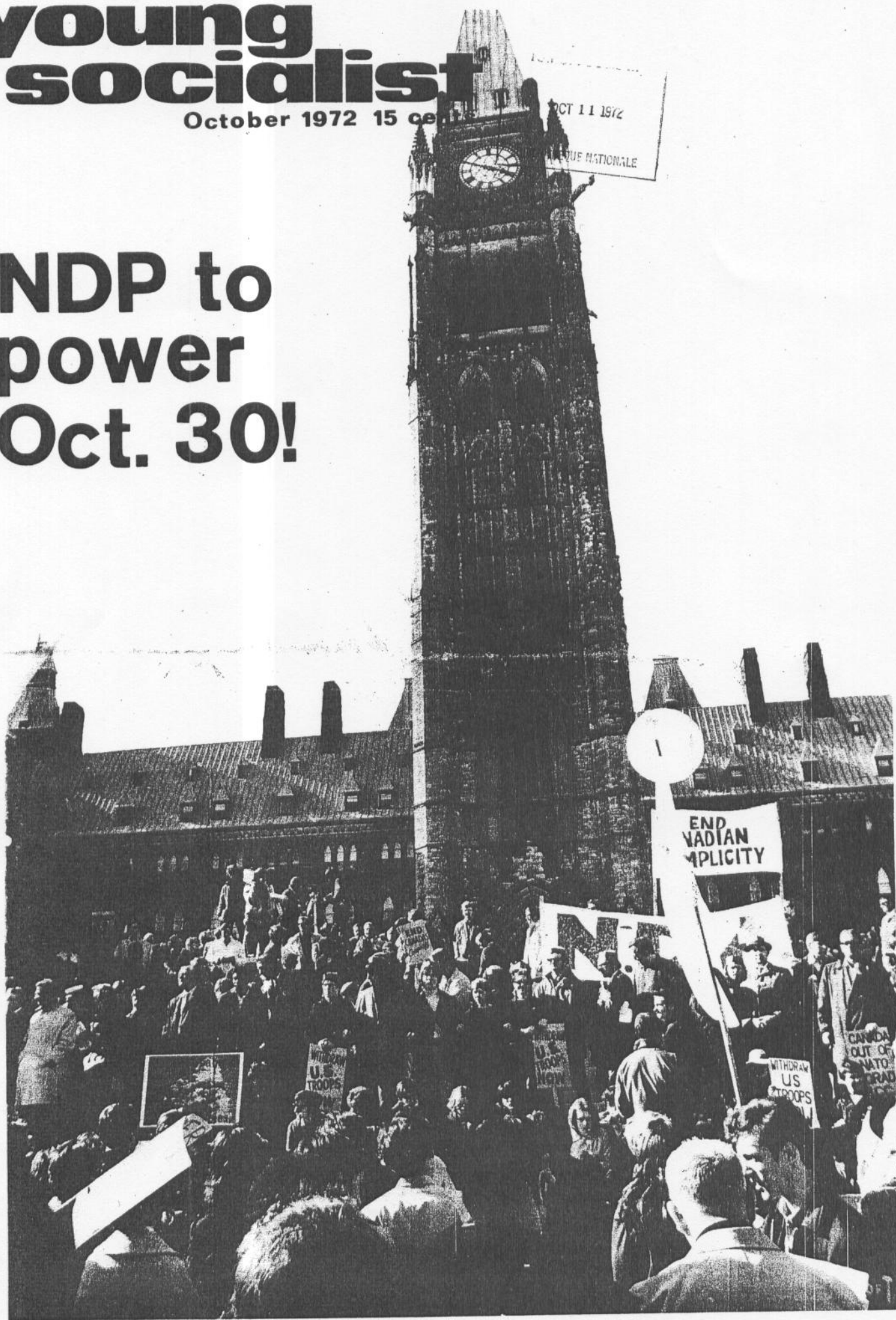
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QUE NATIONALE

NDP to power Oct. 30!



Peterborough students walk out

by Jim Upton

The Ontario Government's policy of cutting back on education spending and putting ceilings on spending by local boards of education has sparked the largest high school walkouts ever to take place in Peterborough.

On September 11 teachers withdrew all voluntary services to support their demands for salaries equivalent to those paid in other cities of comparable size. The same day over 2,500 of the county's 7,000 secondary school students walked out. The walkouts started spontaneously at one school and quickly spread to others as students went from school to school pulling larger numbers out behind them. There was no overall direction or co-ordination given to the walkouts but about 400 students blocked traffic by marching down the main street to the office of the board where they held a meeting and picketed.

That night student councillors from several schools met and passed a motion calling on all students to stay out of classes "until binding arbitration (which teachers had been requesting for a month but the board opposed) or until a favorable settlement was reached." The next morning this motion was read to student assemblies at all but one of the area schools and at each school it passed overwhelmingly leading to even more massive walkouts than the previous day.

On the third day of the walkouts a meeting was arranged between

During the three days of high school walkouts in Peterborough Young Socialist salespersons sold over 100 copies of the September YS which featured the education cutbacks.

members of the board and student and teacher representatives from all the high schools. When it became apparent that a settlement was still some time away the student councillors voted

unanimously to have rotating walkouts for the next week as a means of forcing an early settlement with "the goal of a mass rally" if agreement was not reached in a week. However, the board and teachers reached agreement before the rotating cutbacks really got off the ground and the return of voluntary services brought an end to the walkouts.

Although some students supported the teachers in their fight against the board the bulk of the students, including most of the student councillors, took what they called a "neutral" position while putting



pressure on both sides to reach agreement. Most students did not realize that the education cutbacks were preventing the teachers from securing an adequate salary in their negotiations with the board. They were not aware that the cause of the cutbacks is the Ontario Government's attempt to reduce education spending because more students are being churned out than can profitably be employed by big business.

Despite this lack of understanding about the role of the cutbacks in forcing the teachers to withdraw their voluntary services the walkouts demonstrated a new militancy among high school

students and a healthy willingness to take direct mass action to effect change.

Nor has the impact of the walkouts in bringing a quick settlement been lost on the students involved. The Kenner Collegiate student council president concluded: "now that we've had a taste of walking out over the withdrawal of voluntary services there's a lot of talk among students about walking out to protest a rule which says that if you miss 20 classes in a course you don't get credit for it, no matter how high your marks."

Unless the cutbacks are halted,

students in the high schools face a further deterioration in the quality of their education. Students must continue to organize walkouts, marches and rallies in alliance with teachers and with the support of working people through their political party, the NDP, as well as supporting other students who face similar attacks. Armed with such a strategy we can reverse the Government's policy and take a concrete step towards fundamentally changing a society which puts the profits of a few before the educational needs and opportunities of the overwhelming majority.

Campus notes

Montreal — Law students in several colleges in Montreal are boycotting the bar admission exams as part of a protest aimed at abolishing the bar admission courses. The bar admission courses which must be passed by graduate law students before they can practice have long been used as a way to regulate the number of lawyers. While in Ontario relatively few fail these exams the Quebec failure rate runs up to 50 percent. Students have pointed out cases where one student received a passing mark and another, who gave an identical answer, failed. Students are intending to coordinate their actions and to meet with the Bar Association.

Ottawa — The federal immigration department has refused a visa to Dr. Istvan Meszaros, who has been asked to

teach a course at York University. Meszaros, a Marxist and a former associate of George Luckas, was a refugee from Stalinism who fled Hungary after the uprising of 1956 was crushed. A world renowned scholar and now a British citizen he has been denied a visa on the grounds that his entry would be "against the interests of Canada." Meszaros protesting this and has received a great deal of publicity. The university administration has remained silent. A similar incident occurred at York previously when political scientist Gabriel Kolko was initially denied entry in order to take a post at York. Once again the government has intervened to suppress the right of students to hear and study all viewpoints.

York University — As we go to press, students at York University are organizing a mass rally against the fee hikes to greet Premier Davis on his visit to the campus. The demonstration was called by the student council.

Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, Toronto — Fifteen hundred students at Ryerson have signed a petition protesting the appointment of John Sword to the Ryerson Governing Council. As former acting-president of University of Toronto, Sword blocked demands for university-financed daycare and twice called cops on campus to bust protesting students. The issue which is posed by the protest is the right of students to decide who should run the university.

Campaign for 3000 new readers

- The Young Socialist was there;
- when ten thousand Vancouver high school students sparked the wave of Amchitka protests;
- when over half the students at St. Francis Xavier went on strike;
- when the Ontario Federation of students was formed;
- in jail in Quebec when its Montreal correspondent was imprisoned under War Measures;
- when Toronto high school students walked-out to protest the education cutbacks;
- when 17 colleges and universities voted in favor of abortion law repeal;
- when Trudeau told antiwar activists to "fuck-off";

When the bourgeois press ignored, obscured or attacked these important events, Young Socialist was there to provide the student movement across the country with accurate coverage and a socialist analysis of what was going on. Young Socialist turned out a special issue on War Measures, a supplement on the Wright Report, reproduced the Quebec teachers manifesto and campaigned for a yes-vote in the abortion referendums. If you want to arm yourself with the truth about student issues and find out what to do about them, subscribe to Young Socialist, the only socialist student monthly on campuses and high schools across the country.

And if you want to read the truth about other important issues and events in Canada, the debates in the NDP, the struggles of the labor movement, developments in Quebec and around the world, read Labor Challenge a

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—by Karen Alcock



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NOVEMBER 1972 15 cents



**"U.S. OUT NOW!
NO CANADIAN TROOPS!"**

**"VIETNAM FOR THE
VIETNAMESE!"**



the student revolt around the world...

Australia

By Greg Adamson

Some 3,000 secondary school students participated September 20 in demonstrations in Australia's six main cities against bad conditions in the educational



system, and in support of civil rights for students. Demonstrations in other areas involved another 2,000 students, with some estimates putting the figure much higher.

The demands generally were as follows: freedom of appearance for all

students, freedom of expression, abolition of corporal punishment, complete listing of all school rules, an end to segregation in schools, more money for state education, more teachers, equalization of educational opportunities.

For most of the demonstrators, this was their first organized political action.

This was not because of any sudden radicalization over the last two months, but because radicalism in the schools has been unorganized.

The organizers of the campaign were the target of red-baiting attacks. Minister for Education Willis charged that the student strike in Sydney was "a move by only a handful of lads manipulated by communist organisers."

The Sydney Sunday Telegraph said in

an editorial September 17:

"If this so-called 'strike' were a spontaneous demonstration in support of better schools, more teachers, or improved teaching methods it might be possible to laugh it off — silly and disruptive though it is — as one more high-spirited prank by impressionable teenagers."

"But of course it is not. What these militant Billy Bunters and playground radicals don't seem to grasp is that they are being led by the nose by a handful of extreme political groups, Trotskyite troublemakers and half-baked revolutionary agitators."

The red-baiting encouraged intimidation of students by parents and school administrations. This was shown most clearly in Sydney where out of more than 100 schools, only 800 students joined in the public action. Threats of suspension or expulsion held participation down to only a few strongly committed supporters.

Nevertheless in all areas the tone of the demonstrations was very militant, a popular chant being, "What do we want? Student rights! When do we want them? NOW!"

While a number of groups and individuals of the far right were attacking the campaign as "Communist inspired," members of the Young Communist Movement and the Communist Party of Australia condemned it as a "Socialist Youth Alliance front," sagely predicting its failure. The CPA hardly gave token

support, publicizing the action in the Tribune only marginally and at a late date.

The only group that gave consistent support to the campaign of students fighting for their rights was the Socialist Youth Alliance. There was nothing secret or manipulative about this. SYA members openly participated in organizations formed to build the campaign and took an active part in campaign activities.

Despite right-wing red-baiting, left-wing death-wishing, and some senior student skepticism, thousands of students recognized the campaign as their own and participated in it, while tens of thousands more looked on in watchful support.

One teacher reported that at a country school near Sydney, although students took no strike action, in one class everybody's mind was on the strike, and normal school work was impossible.

An extra problem for the educational system has risen. Second form students will find no relief from the present conditions in third form. And so, while fifth and sixth formers may be "bought off" with minor privileges, younger students will continue to demand full civil rights.

It is the responsibility of all radical secondary students to make sure that September 20 was just the beginning of the campaign for improved conditions of education and for recognition of the students' civil rights.

...across the country

Edmonton students win

Edmonton: After ten days of rallies, letters and petitions the students at Grant MacEwan College won an important victory. They forced the PC government to rehire Barry Moore, an NDP worker, to chair the board of governors.

Moore, an energetic critic of the PC government, was denied re-appointment by the PC cabinet for reasons which had "nothing to do with the quality of his work."

Students and faculty responded quickly with a rally of 400 to plan action. Signs around the room read: "We want education, not political manipulation!" and "Students demand rights!"

At the rally, students debated whether a "moderate" approach of reasoning with the government or a more "radical" approach of mass student action — such as strikes and demonstrations — should be employed. A "compromise" was reached in which students agreed to continue meetings and initiate a letter-writing campaign — and failing that go to the government en masse. The faculty association began a petition.

Because of the explosiveness of the situation the government capitulated even before any demonstrations were necessary. The announcement was greeted by standing applause at a rally of 500 students.

According to the Gateway — the student paper at the University of Alberta — a recurring theme during the struggle was that students and staff should be the ones to make decisions of

this nature. As one staff should be the ones to make decisions of this nature. As one staff member put it: "Shouldn't we be questioning the whole issue of government appointments?"

Victory at UBC

by Coreen Douglas, Vancouver

A by-election held at the beginning of the '72-'73 term at the University of British Columbia, resulted in a significant victory for student democracy on the campus. A clause which barred political clubs from running in the student council elections was effectively struck from the constitution by a referendum vote held during the election. The clause, which we believe was instituted during the McCarthy era in the '50's, was used to prevent the Young Socialists from running in their own name twice, before it was removed.

Last year after being barred from contesting the elections the YS waged a campaign around this issue. The question became the focus of the election, and a write-in campaign to protest the undemocratic clause and its use, resulted in a record of 1,872 spoiled ballots.

The "Human Government," which was the "radical" outgoing students council was put on the spot. They had been (as far as can be determined) the only ones to ever enforce this reactionary clause.

The recent referendum victory was supplemented by the fact that Coreen Douglas, a member of the Young Socialists, running on a socialist program and for the removal of the

clause in the by-election, received almost 900 votes or 30 percent.

Law students revolt

By Marc Dupont, Montreal LJS and law student at the Université de Montreal

The school year is off to a stormy start in Montreal. Rising discontent among law students has erupted into a militant struggle against the policies of the Quebec Bar Association, which dictates the requirements students must meet in order to practice law.

A focus of the discontent is the exam system students are forced to submit to. Last year, out of 624 students who wrote the exam, 363 failed to achieve the passing grade of 60 percent. The exams, it seems, centered around things that had little to do with much of what the students had been studying.

An administration-controlled committee was formed to "precisely identify the causes of the situation and to propose remedies without delay." They attempted to quiet the mounting tide of unrest by proposing such sweeping reforms as, "improve the exam atmosphere by providing better desks, more comfortable chairs and air conditioning."

The students have other ideas in mind. A Front Commun was formed uniting law students from Quebec City, Sherbrooke, Ottawa, and Montreal. In their general policy position the common front maintains "that the Quebec Bar exerts exorbitant, abusive and unacceptable powers and privileges in matters concerning regulations on entry into the legal profession and that any

action of the Front will ultimately be aimed at remedying this situation.

"We also propose that in the short term we must abolish the bar exams, in the medium term all means must be taken to this effect. In the long term this implies a step towards the abolition of the exclusive control of the Bar over the judicial world."

Mass assemblies and class boycotts occurred on the various campuses. On Oct. 4 classes were cancelled in most law faculties throughout the province and 1,000 students marched through the streets of downtown Montreal. The demonstration was extremely spirited and militant. The central demand was for the abolition of the exams. As students marched past the Place de La Justice they paused to chant with fists to the sky: "down with the bar" and "Le Barreau au Poteau!" — the bar to the gallows! The struggle continues.

Seneca election

Students at Seneca College in Toronto, have elected Stan Hyman, the United Left Slate (ULS) student council vice-presidential candidate, and came 50 votes short of electing Sabina Kopyto, the ULS presidential candidate.

Kopyto (a member of the YS) and Hyman ran on a program which emphasized mass mobilizations against the fee hike and educational cutbacks. They called for equality for women, repeal of all abortion laws and student-staff control of Seneca.

During the campaign, the candidates declared that "if elected our first act will be to call a mass meeting to plan protests against the fee hike."



young socialist

February 1973 25¢

Canada out of Vietnam!

**Students fight cutbacks
Young Socialists' convention**



...across the country

BROCK OCCUPATION

Students at Brock University demonstrated that they have no illusions about whether the government's freeze on capital expenditures is a direct challenge to their basic interest in the quality of education.

The Brock administration, acting on behalf of the Davis' government, moved during the holiday break to implement its second year of cutbacks. As one of the "New" universities, Brock has been forced to reverse spending patterns in order to balance a budget heavily burdened with mortgage payments. Unlike older universities with large financial reserves and fewer new facilities, the "emerging" universities are among the first to face drastic cutback measures.

During the academic year of 71-72, \$50,000 was cut from library acquisitions and measures taken to reduce the number of staff and their wages. However, this was just a pale image of what was in store.

On Dec. 31, 1972 sixteen faculty members received notices of the termination of their contracts. On Jan. 10, the rest of the faculty

TRENT STUDENTS ORGANIZE

The students at Trent University have been in the forefront of the struggle against the cutbacks in education. The Trent Student Union, which is led by the Trent Young Socialists, has consistently educated students about the cutbacks and challenged the Ontario Federation of Students to take mass province-wide action. The majority of the students adopted the program and strategy of the TSU during the October PFS referendum, namely the demands "Stop the Cutbacks, Rescind the Fee Hike, Lower the Loan Ceiling, Tax the Corporations" and the call for a province-wide demonstration.

On January 19, Trent University President Nind announced cutbacks totalling \$500,000 including the dismissal of 12 faculty and 28 staff and the elimination, merger or amalgamation of several departments. In response to this a mass meeting of students organized by the TSU called for a moratorium and elected a steering committee to coordinate it.

After two days of debate and discussion a

1,000 students (there are about 4,000 students at Regina campus).

After the occupation had begun student militants attended the provincial NDP convention and succeeded in getting a resolution adopted which included student parity at Regina campus and "student, faculty and community control" of the university. Students subsequently defined "community" as the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor and the National Farmers Union. After the NDP's adoption of this resolution a general student meeting adopted a third demand, that the NDP government implement its convention policy.

The administration has consistently refused to accept any of the student demands. After Christmas the present student council, which has tried to blunt the struggle, established even closer collaboration with the administration. In a meeting on Jan. 18, attended by 200 students, the council attempted to bury the cutbacks issue and students' demands.

Following the Jan. 18 meeting student militants, on the initiative of the Regina YS, began to make plans to challenge the present student union leadership and its refusal to carry the struggle forward.

A few days later, on Jan. 22, plans were revealed for massive new cutbacks at Regina campus: a \$50.00 increase in tuition fees; the firing of 25 professors (which will affect almost every department); almost all teaching assistants are to be fired and a freeze imposed on all university construction.

This new situation, with the experience of two months of struggle behind them, is a big challenge to students at Regina campus. Student demands already have the support of the SFL, the Farmer's Union and the Saskatoon student council. A special province-wide issue of the student paper, the Carillon, is being prepared. It is essential that students across the country declare their support for the demands of the Regina students and organize in solidarity with them.

QUEBEC CAMPUSES

According to the administration of the University of Quebec (at Montreal) students' debts for tuition fees presently amount to

Sherbrooke where the administrations are also trying to collect fees. An initial protest meeting at U. of M. drew 500 students. Plans are underway for a common front of students at all three campuses. 100,000 copies of a special supplement of the U. of M. paper are being prepared to rally support across Quebec.

These new regulations are another form of cutbacks in educational spending in Quebec. In explaining this and proposing mass demonstrations to protest the regulations, the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (Young Socialists) is calling for free tuition and a student wage. "If students from poor families find themselves under-represented at university, this is in large part because of financial difficulties," says the LJS leaflet. "In a so-called democratic society, education should be a right, not a privilege."

YORK-GLENDON

On Jan. 9 about 50 students at Glendon College occupied the registrar's office to protest the administration's withholding of student aid cheques. The students wanted their grant cheques released so they could participate in the fee strike underway in Ontario to protest last spring's fee hike. Several mass meetings, involving up to half of Glendon's 1,100 students, accompanied the occupation.

A day later, on Jan. 10, the occupation spread to York University's main campus. The next day the administration backed down on the issue of the students' cheques.

After this concession by the administration students at York decided to continue the struggle. They demanded that the fee hike be rescinded, that the loan ceiling be restored at last year's level and that the York administration publicly back the students' demands. Administration president, David Slater, refused to do this under the pretext that the administration "has its own way" of disagreeing with government policy. Students responded that the administration, which speaks for the university, must speak for the majority: students, faculty and support staff.

Struggles against cutbacks mount across country

were advised that they would be expected to undertake a night course, with no pay increase.

The Brock Faculty Association and the students council were quick to respond and declared their support for the "Brock 16." A general meeting called on Jan. 16 mobilized over 600 students and many more were unable to squeeze into the overcrowded lecture hall. The meeting voted to demand the immediate reinstatement of the sixteen faculty and that no cutbacks be instituted in courses or faculties. As well students decided to occupy the thirteenth floor of the Brock Tower until the administration met the student demands.

Using the tower as an organizing centre, over 200 students wrote and distributed leaflets to spread the struggle out to the rest of the campus. The next student union meeting was attended by 1,500 students — over 70 percent of the student population at Brock! Overwhelming support for the demands of the struggle was received and the meeting voted to hold a moratorium on classes for the next day.

The moratorium was organized as a series of seminars taking up how the cutbacks were affecting various departments, the roots of the present crisis, strategies of fighting the cuts and the role of student unionism in protecting students' interests. The day culminated in a mass general meeting that re-affirmed the occupation and called for the continuation of the moratorium and the struggle.

Clearly the scope and militancy of this struggle indicated the depth of the sentiment against the cutbacks. Brock is currently in the forefront of a series of actions across the province. The mounting student militancy stands in stark contrast to the unease and hesitancy of the Ontario Federation of Students leaders who are refusing to use the resources they have to build the struggle. The Brock struggle shows that the possibilities for a co-ordinated united struggle of Ontario students are very great, and is a challenge to OFS to come across.

The Brock struggle is a good example of how to fight. Based on clear militant demands and on a strategy of mass action its impact has already been considerable.

mass meeting was held which was attended by an estimated 700-1,000 people. The TSU, in the face of the administration's opposition, put forward a proposal that the cutbacks at Trent be opposed and that there be no cutbacks in faculty, staff or departments at Trent. Unfortunately the majority of the students felt that the administration could do nothing about the cutbacks and that the President was acting in the best interests of students in the face of a difficult situation created by the government. A proposal, put forward by several prominent faculty members, was adopted. It called for acceptance of the Trent cutbacks and a review of how they should be implemented.

However, the meeting also adopted the second part of the TSU proposal re-affirming the four demands adopted in the fall and calling on the administration to make a public statement in support of those demands.

The Young socialists intend to continue to mobilize in action against the Tory government in Queen's Park and in the course of this struggle to expose the administration at Trent. Students will see that the administration is not interested in supporting students in this fight; and that it is acting on behalf of big business and the Tories by implementing the cutbacks at Trent. In fact, two days after the meeting the President attempted to call off the second moratorium and demanded the dissolution of the steering committee.

REGINA CAMPUS

In response to cutbacks at Regina campus a general student meeting was held last November. Almost 600 students attended this preliminary meeting which adopted two demands: Stop the Cutbacks (at that time the only known cutbacks were two faculty members, others were in the air), and Student Parity in Social Sciences. The second demand was in response to the administration's attempt to abolish the near-parity that students had in the social science department where students had gained large representation in deciding department affairs.

To back up their demands students began an occupation which, over the course of the struggle, involved some 300 students. Prior to Christmas five general student meetings were held, each involving between 800 and



Young Socialist Bob Rosell, Trent Student Union Commissioner takes on Ontario Minister of education at demonstration.

more than one million dollars. For three years a good number of students have profited from a system of de facto free tuition in not paying for their courses. At the beginning of the 1973-74 session "tuition fees must be paid at the beginning of each session," according to a new ruling by the administration. "Students who have not paid by Feb. 15 will automatically be de-registered for that session."

Last fall there were several mass meetings at UQAM to protest this new ruling. The faculty members' union and support staff union of UQAM have decided to back the students' demands. A mass meeting is set for Jan. 24 to plan for the Feb. 15 deadline when the administration has threatened to begin expulsions of those who have not paid.

Since Christmas similar struggles have developed at the University of Montreal and

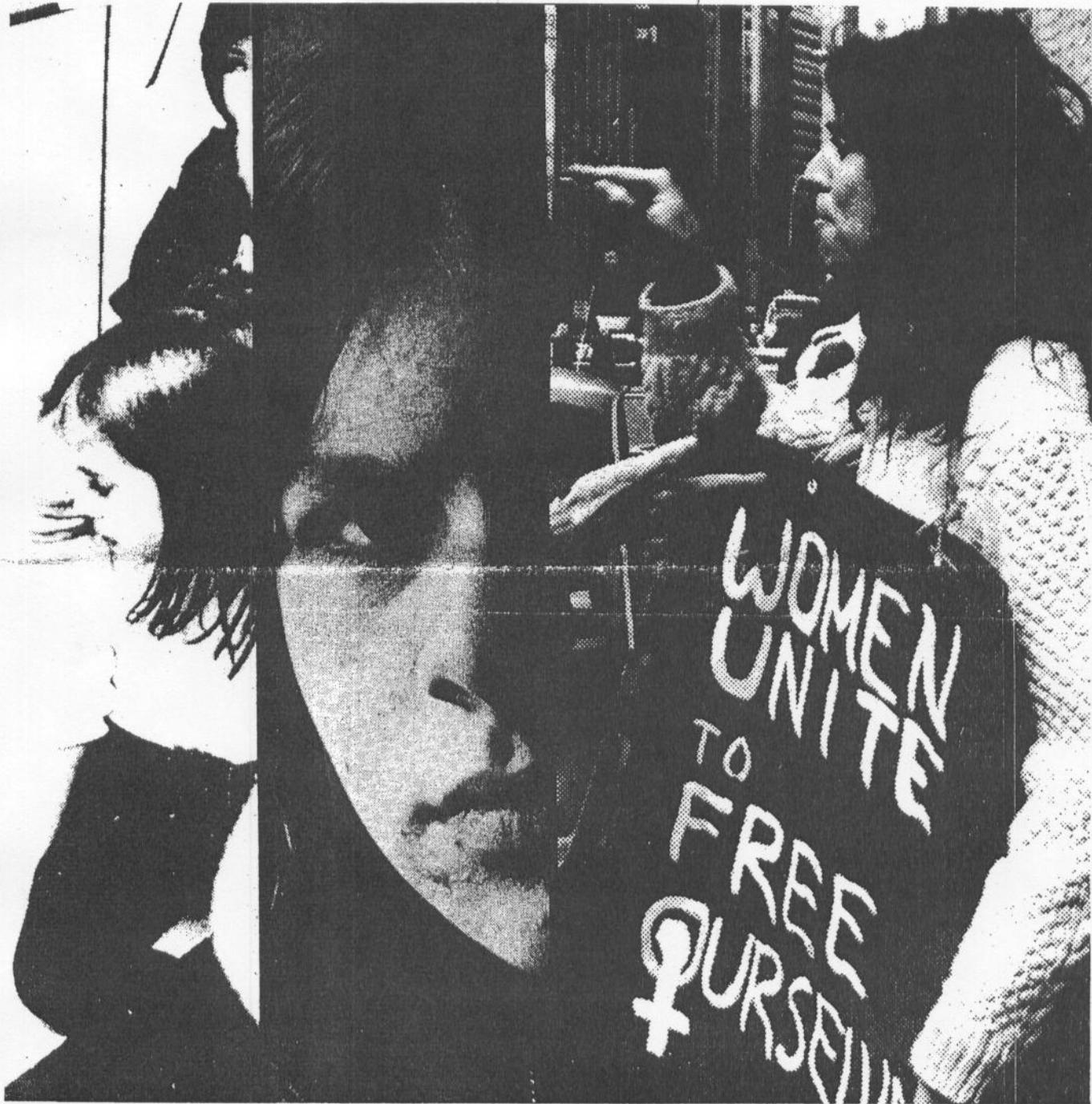
Several large meetings have been held at York as the protest continues. On Jan. 18 an all-day teach-in and meeting, involving some 400 students, adopted the demand proposed by the York Young Socialists: "Tax the corporations." The meeting outlined a series of proposals for extending the struggle, including a call on the Ontario Federation of Students to organize a province-wide demonstration.

Solidarity messages from York were sent to students at both Brock and the University of Quebec. The message to U. of Q. somehow got translated and distributed en masse at the Montreal campus.

Occupations demanding immediate payment of student aid cheques also took place at Western and Windsor. At Western over 200 students confronted Ontario Premier Davis to protest the cutbacks.

young socialist

March 1973 25 cents



WOMEN in the UNIVERSITY
• CUTBACKS • ZIONISM •

SOCIALIST STUDENT ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

On campuses across the country, members of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes are running in student government elections. We're out to win students to our socialist ideas and to make student councils instruments of student struggles.

Only mass struggle can win fundamental change in the university and society. We see our participation in student government as part of the process of building the independent power of students.

Most of the people who currently lead student councils, view the university as some academic island isolated from the rest of society. They believe their role as student councillors is to provide services for students and from time to time to negotiate with the administration over grievances students may have.

The reality is that the university reflects and perpetuates all the injustices of capitalist society as a whole. Students need a fighting organization that builds action aimed at turning the university into its opposite — into an organizing center for the struggles of the oppressed and the exploited.

A Young Socialist student government would make its facilities available to all groups on the campus and in the community who are fighting for social change. Organizations of women and native people, labor and high school organizations would be invited to use telephones, meeting rooms and printing facilities. The student council would host conferences like the Cross-Country Conference of the Canadian Womens Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws. It would sponsor tours, debates, teach-ins on Vietnam, Quebec independence, and other important issues.

A student council led by socialists would begin research into questions of campus war

research, the oppression of women in the university, discrimination in admissions. The student government would initiate campaigns on these questions as Young Socialist candidates at the University of British Columbia have advocated for the implementation of the Report on the Status of Women at UBC.

Young Socialist student councillors would speak out on all social questions — against Canadian intervention in Vietnam, for

control of the university, for a university run democratically by the majority and not by a handful of businessmen and administrators who control education in this society. Students and faculty should decide how funds are spent, what courses are taught, who is hired and fired. There must be full freedom of political activity and no cops on campus.

Student government should oppose all cutbacks in education — fee hikes, lay-offs,

corporations to pay for education.

A YS student government would base itself on democratic decision-making, calling general meetings and referenda on all important questions. The YS LJS opposes any attempt to stifle discussion in the student movement through measures like the ruling against political slates at UBC.

Unlike the leadership of the Ontario Federation of Students (OFS) who see their main role as negotiators with the government, or others who support the administrations' phony "participation" schemes, the YS/LJS understands that only the independent mass action of students united with faculty, staff and working people outside the university can effectively defend students' rights and bring meaningful change. For example, the Trent University Student Union which is led by the Young Socialists organized mass meetings, teach-ins, and demonstrations against the cutbacks. The TSU has repeatedly called on the OFS to take a clear stand against the cutbacks and to organize province-wide mass actions.

The struggle to change the universities must be part of the overall struggle to change society. All the organized power of the workers and the oppressed must be brought together to wrest the power from the rich minority and establish a socialist society based on human needs. The YS/LJS is an organization of student and working youth across Canada and Quebec, active on the campuses and in the high schools, in the womens liberation, antiwar and Quebec nationalist movements. Our participation in student government is one part of our work of winning people to our socialist ideas and building the struggles of the oppressed. Join us.

Al Cappe

Socialist strategy



UBC candidates Coreen Douglas, Marilyn Smith, Stuart Russell.

repeal of all anti-abortion laws, against the jailing of labor leaders in Quebec, in support of strikes and against anti-labor legislation and wage controls. They would see as their aim the mobilization of students on the campus in defence of the rights of all the oppressed, in this country and around the world.

The YS/LJS stands for student-faculty

budget cuts — and expose any cuts taking place. A YS student council would call mass meetings of students to discuss action and would work with other campuses for united action and would work with other campuses for united actions against the government. The YS/LJS stands for the abolition of tuition, a living wage for students, guaranteed jobs on graduation, and taxing the

Harbord Collegiate. He received more votes than his two opponents combined, with an unusually high voter turnout of 87 percent.

Johnson became well known student leader in Toronto last March when after addressing a rally of 2,000 Toronto teachers and students (where he called for a mass walkout against the cutbacks) the Globe and Mail, Canada's most authoritative capitalist newspaper, called for his expulsion in its lead editorial.

Johnson was interviewed after the election by Young Socialist.

YS: What was the program you ran on?

Johnson: The campaign centered on the Students' Bill of Rights which has been proposed by a number of Harbord students to the Toronto Board of Education. The Bill would ensure to students the freedom of the press, assembly, and political organization into clubs without staff sponsorship. The Bill would also establish the right to sell newspapers and other literature in the school as well as the right to distribute and to post leaflets. Because of the Bill of Rights campaign the Toronto Board has at least agreed to set up a committee of students, trustees, a teacher, administrator to assess the feelings of students, parents, teachers and administration on the question of students' rights.

The program also included demands and action proposals against the cutbacks in educational spending. We put forward the concept of a women's liberation high school and explained that students must organize to take over the schools and use them as centres to organize against the oppression of women. Coupled with this we distributed the McGill birthcontrol and VD handbooks. We stood for Third-World and women's studies courses and stressed the importance of getting the

truth out about oppressed groups in society. Part of the program is the idea of student-staff control of Harbord, and we called for assemblies and teach-ins on current affairs as well as decision-making student assemblies.

The campaign also explained that changing the schools to serve the majority is part of our goal for changing the world to serve the majority through the socialist revolution.

YS: What did your opponents stand for?

Johnson: There were two other candidates: both had similar campaigns. They essentially stood for the things most presidents run on — like more dances, fun, a few students rights, and so-on. As the campaign developed they were forced to take positions on the issues that were raised by myself and other students.

YS: What happened through the course of the campaign?

Johnson: We had a mass assembly for the candidates. When it was nearing the time limit about 80 percent of the students there voted to continue the meeting. A number of people helped me with the campaign. We set up literature tables in the cafeteria and gave out back issues of Young Socialist and Labor Challenge. We also sold pamphlets on Black Liberation, abortion, the High School revolt and others. Our campaign leaflet, which gave the Young Socialists' analysis of the schools and our program for change was distributed quite extensively.

It was also a rough campaign. In the course of the election most of my posters were torn down and there was quite a bit of red-baiting.

YS: So, some students resented the fact that you are a member of the Young Socialists?

Johnson: A lot of students suggested that I play down my being in the YS. But the program and the mass action strategy I ran

on was that of the YS. I tried to explain that there is no contradiction between being a socialist and a builder and leader of student struggles — in fact the two strengthen each other. It's the socialists who have the most experience in student struggles, and on the other hand, the struggles of students are part of the struggle for a socialist society based on meeting peoples' needs.

Anyway, I guess that most students thought that the answers the Young Socialists had for students were the correct ones because they voted for me.

YS: Now that you're elected, what are you going to do?

Johnson: Well, we're going to work to implement the program that I was elected on. To do this we'll have to inform, organize and mobilize students to fight for the various parts of the program. We are going to use the resources and authority of the students' council to build the liberation struggle at Harbord and to spread it to other high schools in Toronto. We want to open up the school for political discussions, for action against the cutbacks and to win the Student Bill of Rights. We'll fight for a democratic newspaper.

Already the council has set up a students grievance committee to deal with problems students face with the administration and a cutbacks committee to research the effects of the cuts and then inform students of them. A birth control group has been supported in principle.

We are also planning a day of seminars and discussion groups on important topics, such as the national struggle in Quebec.

We think the schools should serve the interests of students, teachers and working people and we intend to use the presidency to build the struggle for this and for a socialist Canada.

YSer elected high school president

Young Socialist Dave Johnson, was elected student council president, Feb. 8 at Toronto's



TORONTO

At the University of Toronto — Canada's largest campus — a coalition of socialists is contesting the students' council elections. The United Socialist Slate is composed of two campus organizations — the U of T Young Socialists, and the Old Mole (a socialist group at U of T).

Both groups had decided that they wanted to run in the student elections and entered into negotiations to see if they could arrive at a common platform to challenge the powerful reformists who dominate student politics at U of T. After two weeks the groups were able to find a principled basis to unite and form a slate for the elections.

The United Socialist State will raise demands around womens liberation, Vietnam and cutbacks and call for a student council that builds political action.

YORK UNIVERSITY

The United Left Slate—a York University coalition of student militants lost the Presidential post vote in the recent students' council elections by 20 votes. Dale Ritch, the ULS presidential candidate and organizer of the local Young Socialists won 414 of the 1100 votes cast. The winning candidate, Mike Mouritsen received 434 votes on a right wing program. However the ULS did win a block of seven delegates to council.

The voting capped a campaign which included a distribution of 4,000 copies of the ULS program, heavy canvassing of all residence students, a series of organized debates, radio panel shows and speakouts in dining halls and common rooms.

At least 20 students participated in the campaign on behalf of the ULS. Included in the coalition were members of the York Young Socialists, several NDPers — including a former provincial council candidate — and a large number of independent students from the York Cutbacks Committee.

The program of the ULS flowed from the struggles that have been occurring on the campuses this year. Key demands were raised against the cutbacks in education — to return tuition fees and loan ceilings to their previous levels; to lower the age of independence for loans to 18; to tax the corporations to pay for education. We also propagandized around demands for free tuition and a living wage for students.

Other sections of the program called for student-faculty control of York; abolish the board of governors; kick big business off campus; for a women's liberation and anti-war university; and the withdrawal of all Canadian "peace-keeping" forces from Vietnam.

Although we didn't win the presidency or a

majority on the council, the campaign was an important success and a real aid to the student movement at York.



Dale Ritch

UBC CAMPAIGN

At the University of British Columbia the Young Socialists were prevented from running a Young Socialist slate by a reactionary constitutional ruling barring political clubs from contesting the student elections.

Because of this, members of the YS formed a Socialist Slate to present a revolutionary alternative to students.

The Report on the Status of Women at UBC was an important issue in the election campaign. The Socialist candidates used their campaign to put forward a strategy of struggle by campus women to win implementation of the report's demands.

The Socialist Slate also campaigned against the attempts to exclude the YS from running openly in the elections. Below is reprinted an article entitled "For campus democracy", taken from their four-page campaign newspaper.

Across the country members of the Young Socialists are running — and often winning — in campus elections. But there is no Young Socialist slate running at UBC. Why? Because our AMS (the students council — Ed.) has ruled against a YS slate on the basis of an undemocratic clause in the constitution — a leftover from the McCarthy era — which prevents campus clubs from running in the elections and appearing on the ballot.

With crocodile tears in their eyes (as they proceed to waive restrictions for the other candidates) they tell us how sorry they are that the Young Socialists cannot run as a slate, but after all, rules are rules. All the YS has to do is drop those subversive letters Y-O-U-N-G from their posters, and they become legitimate in the eyes of the petty bureaucrats.

As much as we reject the Student Coalition's concept of "legitimacy," we feel that it is important that the students on this campus have every opportunity to hear our program for the universities and to vote for us if they agree with this program. It is the alternative that this program and the organization behind it offers to their "sandbox" politics that frightens these AMS "leaders."

For these reasons what would otherwise be a Young Socialist slate will be known as the Socialist Slate. The three candidates running on the socialist slate are active members and supporters of the Young Socialists — Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, a cross country

socialist student movement, and participants in anti-war, womens liberation movements and the struggles for student faculty control of the universities.

REGINA CAMPUS

The Common Front — a coalition composed of members of the Regina Young Socialists and other student militants — won between 20 and 25 percent of the February election vote, on a socialist program. One of the most important issues was the cutbacks in educational spending, which are severe in Saskatchewan and which sparked a mass struggle on the campus during late fall and early winter.

Reprinted below is part of one of the campaign leaflets. In the leaflet entitled FIGHT THE CUTBACKS the slate criticizes the NDP government—which is supposed to be fighting for the interests of working people — for its assault on education.

Friday is election day on Regina Campus. It is also the day that the Provincial NDP government will bring down its budget slicing at least \$500,000 from the required monies necessary to keep this campus operating at its present level. FRIDAY IS CUTBACKS DAY IN SASKATCHEWAN.

The coming cutbacks will mean that the campus will lose 25 faculty positions; money for sessional assistantships will be chopped; the present size of the university employee work force will stabilize (even though the campus will be opening two new buildings, i.e. more work for fewer people); and last but not least, the provincial gov't is threatening us all with a \$50 per semester tuition fee hike!

In concrete terms, the cutbacks mean the end of innovative departments like Social Sciences, fewer professors, fewer secretaries, fewer seminar leaders, and larger classes. In a larger sense, the cutbacks are a direct attack on the right of universal accessibility to education. The sons and daughters of the workers, farmers, and Indian and Metis people of this province — those who pay for the educational system — will be the ones to suffer.

... We must begin to struggle now against the cutbacks! And in order to win this struggle, we must mobilize the students of this campus to reach out to the community to win wide support for our just demands; we must be able to utilize all the resources of this university to inform the people of the province of the real intentions of the provincial government to smash this campus and make a mockery of their slogan "A New Deal for People."

What is the YS-LJS?

The Young Socialists — Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes is a revolutionary organization of high school, college, university and working youth. We are united under one organization because we face a common enemy — capitalism and the wars, oppression and exploitation it breeds, and because we have common program for changing society.

Our goal is socialism. We aim to establish a society whose resources and industries are owned and democratically controlled by those who use them, instead of a tiny handful of profiteers. A planned economy can translate the worlds resources and technology into a decent life for every human being.

Only the majority — the working class and its allies — can bring about fundamental change. The women's liberation, antiwar, student and Quebecois nationalist movements, foreshadow the revolutionary action of all working people. We participate in these struggles in order to help them realize their maximum strength and achieve their goals. We also support Canada's labor party — the NDP — and work to win NDPers away from the conservative politics of the leadership to a socialist program.

The YS-LJS is on the side of the Vietnamese, the Palestinians, the Irish, the Cubans, the Angolans — the working people and oppressed of the world fighting for their liberation. We support struggles in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China to establish socialist democracy and oust the privileged bureaucracies there.

The YS LJS is part of a movement of young revolutionists on every continent who share our goals and political beliefs.

We know that a new world is both necessary and possible. If you think so too, join us.

() I would like more information about the YS-LJS.

() I would like to join the YS-LJS.

Name

Address

City Prov.....

Clip and mail to the YS-LJS Central Office or the local nearest you:

YS/LJS Central Office, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto

BRANDON, Man: Box 95, Brandon University
EDMONTON, Alta.: 10518 Whyte, B. 6, 432-7358
FREDERICTON, N.B.: Student Union Building, University of New Brunswick
GUELPH Ont.: c/o Tom Baker, Box 19, Ont. Vof. College, U of Guelph, 821-6661
HALIFAX-DARTMOUTH, N.S.: P.O. box 932, 422-3888
HAMILTON, Ont.: c/o Kathy Beeman, 38 Stratcona South, 529-1990
KULU, Que.: c/o S. Trudeau, 101 boul. Sacre-Coeur #401, 770-7471
KITCHENER-WATERLOO Ont.: Box 921 Kitchener, 745-3541
MONTREAL, Que.: 226 est Ste-Catherine, 861-3028
ORILLIA, Ont.: Box 835
OTTAWA, Ont.: No. 1, 418 Somerset W., 232-2171
PETERBOROUGH, Ont.: 429 Stewart St., 745-9819
REGINA, Sask.: c/o Bob Lyons, 2210 Angus St., Suite B, 522-1437
RICHMOND HILL, Ont.: Box 281
ST. CATHARINES, Ont.: c/o Student Union Office, Brock University
STURGEON FALLS, Ont.: c/o Gaelan Gagnon, 64 Nipissing, Box 414
TORONTO, Ont.: Young Socialists, 334 Queen St. W., 344-4056
YORK UNIVERSITY: c/o Tony DiFelice, CYSF, Rm. N108 Ross Bldg., 667-3532
VANCOUVER, B.C.: 1208 Granville, 688-5924
WINNIPEG, Man.: No. 728-416 Main St., 943-7791
Also University of Manitoba YS, 102r. University Centre, 474-8211, Ex. 41.

advertisement

correction

The Nov.-Dec. YS reported that a Peterborough abortion action involved 50-100 women. In fact an action was planned but did not occur. The issue also stated that the Peterborough women's caucus has demanded the firing of the university doctor because of his incompetence and discrimination against women. The caucus is investigating health services at Trent, but no such demand has been raised.

Also, we neglected to mention in the Feb. issue that the book Mother was not a person, which we reviewed, is published by Black Rose Books, 3934 Rue St-Urbain, Montreal and costs \$3.95.

6-18/73
Yos

young socialist

April-May 1973 25 cents



"They have taken away our land and made us outcasts."

Tatanka Yotanka [Sitting Bull], the great Sioux leader.

Wounded Knee , and the Indian struggle in Canada

...across the country

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT SOLIDARITY WITH WOUNDED KNEE: On March 7, 200 students at Huron Park High School in Woodstock, Ontario wore black arm-bands to school, in solidarity with their brothers and sisters at Wounded Knee.

PROTESTS AGAINST RYERSON LAYOFFS: Students, faculty and support staff have initiated a struggle to force the re-hiring of the 48 maintenance workers who have been laid-off at Toronto's Ryerson Polytechnical Institute. Most of the workers have worked at Ryerson for over 2 years and have an average annual wage of about \$5,000.

The administration claims there is nothing they can do because of the cutbacks in educational spending, but they have refused to make a statement against the cuts. Some students and faculty argue that the layoff is also designed to weaken the bargaining position of the CUPE local 233 or even break the local completely.



Ryerson President Mordell confronted by angry workers protesting layoffs due to cutbacks. Workers and students went on to occupy the Ryerson Board Room.

UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS JOIN UNION: The academic staff at Sacred Heart University in Bathurst N.B. has become the first unionized group of teachers outside Quebec. Local 1541 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees was certified as their bargaining agent. A union spokesman describing the certification as "a breakthrough in Canada," said the only other unionized academic staff is at a college of the University of Montreal. The teachers had decided to join because their real income had actually been going down over the past three years.

SOCIALIST STUDENT DEBATES CHRISTIAN: The Cord Weekly, paper at Waterloo Lutheran University reported March 16 on a debate between Samuel Escobar (General Director of the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship and the author of several books) and Stu James, (a member of the Guelph Young Socialists). The debate was moderated by Dr. John Redekop, chairman of the Politics department and was attended by a large crowd.

Escobar argued that "Marxism cannot explain the Eternal presence of Christ," and that Christianity was progressive in its ability to break attempts to make the state sacred. James

argued that Christianity is founded on the illusion of a supernatural being and because it appeals to the supernatural detracts from our ability to deal with the very real problems which are rooted in this society.

2,000 TORONTO TEACHERS' JOBS IN JEOPARDY: Daryl Hodgins told the 3,000 delegates to the Ontario Secondary Teachers Federation conference that 2,000 jobs may be cut within the next year due to the government's cutbacks in education. The Federation decided to set aside \$20 million to aid in their contract negotiations.

250 MILITANTS ATTEND TORONTO MARXIST CONFERENCE: A weekend conference in early March sponsored by the League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists, discussed theory and practice for the coming Canadian revolution. A feature address was given by the noted Marxist philosopher George Novack on "Philosophy and Politics." Other talks included: "National Liberation and Class struggle in Quebec," "Nixon's Strategy and the Vietnam Accords," "The Roots of Women's oppression and strategy for Liberation," and "A Program for the Canadian Revolution."

EDMONTON TASK FORCE DISCUSSES CUTBACKS: The University of Alberta Senate Task Force met on the campus March 15. According to the Edmonton Journal, the force was confronted by Larry Panych, organizer of the U of A Young Socialists, who argued that the Alberta government was moving to raise tuition fees. Panych and another YS member, Richard Thompson spoke against the possible increase and demanded that the senate take a strong position against it.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS STRUGGLE IN OTTAWA: The efforts to defend Joe Young who was convicted for selling the Young Socialist on the Sparks St. Mall in Ottawa seem to be yielding returns. A city committee has been appointed to study the question of freedom on the Mall. Five members of the 8 man committee agree that the "mall authority" — a group of businessmen who have power over activity on the mall should not have "arbitrary power to ban political, religious and social groups it chooses..."

City Solicitor, Donald Hambling, while criticizing the prosecution of Joe Young said: "I seriously question where they get the right to prohibit underground papers. The dissemination of the news from every corner is part of freedom of the press and one of the most democratic ways known."

CORNWALL HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS DEMAND FRENCH SCHOOL: The struggle of Cornwall students to have a French school has been one of the most powerful high school explosions in English Canada ever.

Fifty-three percent of the population of 47,000 in Cornwall are French speaking. There are three high schools and another in construction but all are English. For three years French speaking students have shared St. Lawrence High School with English speaking students, on a shift system. Morning classes are conducted in English and afternoon sessions (from 1:00 to 6:00) in French. About 750 students attend afternoon sessions; the morning classes in English attract 1,350. Fewer than half of those taking classes in English, use English as their first language.

The students are demanding that the new school be English and that St. Lawrence become a French school. They began by boycotting classes — 750 strong and demonstrating en masse outside the Board of Education Meetings. A meeting of 700 parents March 15 voted support for the students.

On March 30, French speaking high school students in 30 high schools boycotted classes in solidarity with the Cornwall students. They even received editorial support from Toronto's Globe and Mail.

As of March 30, the Board continues to stall, while the protest mounts.



Students and parents demonstrate for a French school.

High School Bill of Rights under fire

by Dave Johnson
President, Harbord Collegiate
Student Council

At Harbord Collegiate in Toronto, a fight for democracy in the schools has developed out of the continual censorship and editing of the student newspaper by the administration. Discussion on the freedom of the press raised other questions concerning freedom of speech speech, political organization, lack of autonomy of the students' council and the arbitrary rule of the administration.

The conditions faced by Harbord students is similar to those in schools across the country. The lack of democracy is part of the overall repressive, authoritarian, stifling character of secondary education. The acts and regulations of the Ontario Ministry of

As we go to press, the Harbord Collegiate administration has threatened to curtail extra-curricular services to students if they continue their support of the Bill of Rights.

Education state that besides relating "facts" and "information," the purpose of school is to take on the role of parent — to teach and maintain discipline and respect for authority. As a result the school's attempt to neutralize the zealous and questioning character of youth, and teach acceptance of the status-quo.

The students at Harbord responded by drafting a students' Bill of Rights which includes demands for freedom of speech and the press, freedom to organize political clubs, autonomy for the students' council, due process of law before disciplinary action,

freedom to distribute leaflets on school property without school authorization, and the right to hold meetings in the school without a staff member being present.

When we presented the bill to the Toronto Board of Education they stalled, by setting up a committee of three trustees, one administrator, one teacher and 5 students. The Board's committee is, ostensibly, to assess parent, student, teacher, principal opinions on such a bill.

The Bill has had quite an impact. There have been articles in the Globe and Mail, Toronto Star, and community newspapers, as well as radio reports and interviews. We've also received a generalized reaction from the administrators who are organizing in opposition to the Bill. At this time we are certain

that the principals and parents groups involved will oppose the Bill.

Our main concern is to convince other students of the necessity of basic democratic rights and to win their active support to fight for them. In order to win this struggle we must mobilize large numbers of students in actions such as going to the public hearings of the Board's committee, demonstrations and so-on. As well because many of the students involved in the Bill are at Harbord, we feel the struggle must be spread to other schools. We hope to leaflet across the city and set up discussions with other students to organize to win our rights. The wide press coverage has stimulated discussion among students at various schools and we plan to draw these people and others into the struggle to enable its victory.

Young Socialist

June 1973 25 cents



**French
students**



**Ontario
teachers**



**Quebec
May Day**

Inflation-p.5

Watergate-p.4

Mao and Vietnam-p.9

YS-LJS plans summer campaigns

by Fred Nelson

A plenary meeting of the Executive Council of the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes was held in Toronto on April 28. The Executive Council is the cross-country leadership body of the YS-LJS, elected by conventions of the membership. This was the first meeting of the Executive Council since the YS-LJS Christmas convention, and its purpose was to assess the work of the Young Socialists since that time and project campaigns for the summer.

The main report to the plenum, presented by YS-LJS executive secretary Al Cappe and adopted unanimously by the meeting, was a "Tasks and Perspectives" report.

The report discussed the current political situation. The Washington-Moscow-Peking detente provides imperialism with some new flexibility, assuring it the aid of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats in dealing with revolutionary situations around the world. This is the meaning of the accords that have been wrested from the Vietnamese. Although set back, the Vietnamese revolution continues, an unstable situation exists throughout all of Southeast Asia, and struggles continue across the colonial world.

While gaining some time on the political front, capitalism is facing increased economic problems as witnessed by the crisis in the monetary system, the increased trade rivalry and competition, and the general leveling off of the post-war expansion. Capitalist governments have had to resort to wage controls and cutbacks in social services, confronting more sharply the radicalization among youth and students and mounting labor combativity.

It was this point — the continued growth of the radicalization among youth — which was the theme of the report:

"At our convention, we rejected any concept that the radicalization was over among youth or that the absence of broad mass

struggles on the campuses, such as we saw in the 1968-69 period, meant that the student movement was 'dead'. In fact, we went so far as to project that we would see renewed struggles in the future, particularly against the cutbacks. While events in Vietnam removed a key focus of radical activity and the detente creates some illusions of 'world peace,' the radicalization has continued to develop along broad lines, challenging the oppression of women, of native people, national oppression, the contradictions of the schools. . . . There is a general disaffection with society as it exists, and more and more



Al Cappe, executive secretary of the YS-LJS.

youth are questioning fundamental aspects of society and are open to socialist conclusions. . . . This has been confirmed since our convention."

The report reviewed a number of experiences which proved this point. In student elections, socialists received 15 percent of the vote on the average across the country. There are growing numbers of courses on Marxism and women's studies courses. Sales of socialist literature and newspapers are higher than ever before. There has been a continued growth of feminist consciousness and a number of women's liberation activities, most notably the abortion campaign.

The native movement saw a rise in activity particularly in response to the Wounded Knee uprising and in protest against the James Bay project in Quebec. Franco-Ontariens engaged in struggles for French schools. There have been struggles for student rights in the high schools and Young Socialist David Johnson was elected president of Harbord Collegiate in Toronto.

The plenum discussed important student struggles in which the YS-LJS participated — as campus leaders, strike committee members and student councillors.

The struggle at the University of Quebec at Montreal against expulsions for non-payment of fees involved the entire campus in a strike and other actions for five weeks. Winning the support of other campuses, the struggle at U of Q, in the face of physical attacks by the cops and a court injunction, helped set the stage for renewed labor struggles against the anti-union attack of the Bourassa government. CEGEP students and teachers have also been waging a campaign against the government plan of declassification of teachers.

In Ontario over ten thousand students participated in meetings, teach-ins, demonstrations and occupations to protest tuition fee hikes and attacks on the student financial aid program. These actions and the overwhelming response to the Ontario Federation of Students referendum on the question showed that the problem in the struggle was not unwillingness of students to take some action, but rather the failure of the OFS to take a strong and clear stand against the cutbacks, to coordinate and organize the struggles that occurred and to educate students about the full scope of the cutbacks. But this struggle is far from over.

On the basis of this analysis of the current situation, the Tasks and Perspectives report, supplemented by a Press report and a

Financial report, outlined the key campaigns of the Young Socialists for the summer.

The YS-LJS leadership set out to organize a summer of "spreading the socialist word," taking socialist ideas out to the hundreds of young people who are looking for answers to the problems they face under capitalism. The YS-LJS renewed its commitment to the campaign to win 3,000 new readers for the Young Socialist and to build the circulation of the Quebec revolutionary paper, Liberation. Young Socialists will be going onto the streets, the beaches, the high schools, and travelling to different towns and cities, selling the revolutionary press and trying to convince more and more young people of the need for a socialist society.

Locals of the YS-LJS will be organizing and publicizing meetings, classes and discussions on socialism, women's liberation, Quebec nationalism and many other topics.

The YS will continue to support and participate in all struggles of women against their oppression. The YS-LJS sees building the fall abortion tribunal in Ottawa as a priority for its work. The plenum underscored the continued necessity of defending the Vietnamese struggle and of seeking opportunities to unite diverse forces in protest against the intervention of Canada and the continued presence of the U.S. in Southeast Asia.

And, wherever progressive struggles of youth arise, wherever oppressed people are taking action to win their rights, the YS-LJS will be there with full support, putting forward its proposals and winning more young people to the ideas of socialism.

The plenum ended with the singing of the traditional song of the revolutionary movement, "The Internationale," and the participants headed back across the country — some to write their final exams and essays, and all to begin organizing "the summer of spreading the socialist word."

... Peking

Continued from Page 9

Chou leadership came up with \$300 million worth of military aid for the Pakistani butcher Ali Bhutto, including sixty M-19 jet fighters, the type of equipment needed against the B-52's bombing North Vietnam with impunity at the time.

The Peking betrayal was not only military. The Maoist bureaucracy, which commands the allegiance of millions in the international worker's movement, made no effort to initiate calls for united front actions in defense of the Vietnamese revolution. In fact, in many countries, Canada included, the political groups in solidarity with Peking, such as the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), opposed such actions.

However the height of the political betrayal by the Chinese leaders occurred last year. Despite stepped-up American bombing of Indochina from December onwards, Nixon was welcomed in Peking on February 21, 1972. Millions around the world were treated to the spectacle of Mao and Chou wining and dining Nixon while bombs and napalm rained down on Vietnamese civilians. Thousands of pictures of Mao and Nixon shaking hands were dropped over Vietnam in a bid to demoralize the liberation forces.

The reception given Nixon in Peking also released the Soviet leaders from all restraint in following their own policy of bidding for peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism. Shortly after the mining of Haiphong harbor, when the war was at a crucial turning point and antiwar actions were growing on a world scale, Brezhnev and Kosygin feted Nixon in Moscow in an attempt to outdo the reception accorded him in Peking.

Peking's attempt to reach an agreement

with U.S. imperialism allowed Nixon to drive a further wedge between the two major workers states at the expense of the Vietnamese revolution. Instead of calling on the Soviet leaders to join a united front against a common foe, the Chinese leaders attempted to out-vie the Kremlin for the favors of U.S. imperialism.

Nixon's visit to Peking was followed by the NLF's spring offensive which exposed the ineffectiveness of Nixon's Vietnamization policy. With Thieu's army crumbling, Nixon pulled out all the stops. He ordered the heaviest bombing in history on North Vietnam and NLF-held areas in the South.

On May 8, he announced the mining of the port of Haiphong and the cutting of rail communication with China. These were steps that former President Johnson had not dared to take several years earlier for fear of reprisals by Moscow and Peking. However, Nixon's trips to Peking and Moscow had confirmed the willingness of these powers to work out a deal with U.S. imperialism in defense of their own narrow interests.

It was this betrayal by the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking that allowed Nixon to dictate the terms of the recent ceasefire. It was under this pressure that Hanoi and the NLF began to scale down their demands in the Paris negotiations and to finally agree to positions they had previously rejected as totally unacceptable.

Peking's reaction to the ceasefire agreement was to describe it as a "brilliant victory" for the liberation forces. In fact the agreement represented a setback for the Vietnamese revolution.

We still lack detailed information on the behind-the-scenes pressure exerted on the Vietnamese by Peking, but according to Deputy Assistant Secretary of State William H. Sullivan, Henry Kissinger's right-hand man during the secret Paris negotiations, "It is very clear that the attitude of China has had

a great deal to do with the way in which this situation has worked out."

Defend right to self-determination

Despite the sell-out by Peking and the signing of the Accords, the war continues in Vietnam. The treacherous policy of peaceful coexistence has not ended the fighting in Indochina. The postwar history of imperialist intervention in Asia shows that there is no trend toward peace. There has not been one single month of peace in this region since the end of World War II.

In contrast to the twists and turns of the bureaucratic leaderships of the workers states, the international antiwar movement has been the most consistent ally of the Vietnamese. We must continue to defend the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese by demanding the dissolution of the International Commission of Control and Supervision of which Canada is a member, and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Canadian and American forces and material from Southeast Asia.

JOIN US

Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes
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-page 8

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youth
unemployment**

-page 3



Burning issues confront NDP

by Howard Brown

The New Democratic Party holds its federal convention in Vancouver July 19-22. The challenge before that convention is posed by runaway inflation, currently gouging great chunks out of workers' paycheques; by massive unemployment, the highest rate of any "advanced" capitalist country; by sharp cutbacks in social services, particularly education; and by the many other problems facing working people, women and youth.

The leadership of the NDP has failed to respond effectively to any of these issues. It has developed neither a program nor a strategy to fight inflation and unemployment. Demands for the nationalization of the profit-gouging food industry under workers' control as a measure against high food prices have been ignored by the party leadership. Likewise the NDP leadership has failed to mount a campaign for the shorter week to fight unemployment or to link up with the struggles against the cutbacks.

The leadership has not championed the struggles of women, defended the right of the Quebecois to self-determination or identified with the battles waged by Quebec labor against Bourassa's anti-labor drive.

All activists in the student and women's liberation movements, all youth fighting for a socialist society, must participate in the convention and other activities of the NDP. Unlike the Liberal, Conservative and Social Credit parties which are financed and controlled by big business, the NDP is a party based on the labor movement. It is in this party that the labor movement, the key force for social change and the potential ally of all social struggles, can be found.

Young people must bring their demands to bear on this party, presenting its members with the class struggle alternative to the party's present direction. Mobilization of the NDP rank-and-file can force the party leadership into action in defense of the interests of students, women and working people. The party's energies should be thrown into supporting and building all the movements for social change.

What are some of the particular questions facing youth which the party must relate to?

The federal and provincial governments have massive plans underway to cutback education and to shift the burden of costs of education even more onto students and working people. Some 10,000 students in

Ontario have participated in anti-cutback action. The struggle has been taken up by teachers who demonstrated 6,000 strong in Toronto on May 14 against budget cutbacks in Ontario. Significant mass actions have occurred in Saskatchewan and Quebec.

Yet the resistance to education cuts has developed without the support of the NDP leadership. The Saskatchewan NDP government, despite massive student protest, laid off university faculty and increased tuition fees. The Ontario NDP has accepted the cutbacks, blaming the problem on "wasteful" spending. The NDP must take a clear unequivocal stand against all education cutbacks and support the kind of program put forward by the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes — mass student, teacher and labor action for the demands "Stop the Cutbacks, Tax the Corporations."

The financial barriers to higher education — all the more formidable given present rates of unemployment and inflation — serve to discriminate against youth from working class backgrounds. The NDP, based in the labor movement, must fight for the abolition of tuition fees, a living wage for students, and guaranteed jobs on graduation. These demands can only be won through an alliance of students and working people. Where the NDP has formed provincial governments, the rank-and-file of the party must be mobilized to force the party leadership to implement these demands.

The growing movement for women's liberation is reflected in the developing feminist consciousness within the NDP. The particular problems of student women must be taken up by the NDP. To date, the B.C. NDP government has never responded to demands to end the extensive discrimination against UBC women, documented in the Report on the Status of Women at UBC.

The educational system reflects and reinforces the whole system of male supremacy, streaming women into traditional, most often low-paying, "female" vocations. Women are grossly underrepresented in the universities. Women are forced out of the education system through the denial of birth control information and devices and abortion, and because of non-existent or inadequate child-care facilities.

Women will be fighting at the NDP convention to force the party to throw its resources behind the women's movement in

its struggles for preferential hiring and admissions in the universities and colleges, an end to the streaming of women, free birth control information and devices, repeal of all restrictive abortion laws and free 24-hour child care.

The perpetuation of women's oppression is one example of how the universities serve neither the interests of students or working people. Controlled by big business, the educational system perpetuates the ideology of the status-quo and serves the needs of the profiteers, polluters and war-makers. The Young Socialists call for student-faculty-staff control, for turning the schools into

organizing centers for social change.

The NDP must defend the struggles of the Quebecois and take up the demands of native people. It must actively support all those fighting for their rights.

To win socialism in this country it is going to take an organization committed to a program for revolutionary change. The YS/LJS, in collaboration with the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, is out to build that kind of organization through the participation and leadership of all progressive struggles of the day, including the struggle to defeat the reform-oriented leaders of the NDP.



NDP excludes two socialists

On June 15, the Provincial Secretary of the Ontario New Democratic Party, Gordon Vichert, informed a member of the Young Socialists, Cliff Mack, that he intended to move his expulsion from the NDP. In a letter to another YS member, Alice Klein, Vichert stated that he was refusing her application to renew membership on the basis of her "activities with" and "association with" the Young Socialists at the University of Toronto. Mack's expulsion was based on his participation as a Young Socialist candidate in the Toronto 1972 municipal election campaign. No NDP candidates were running.

Alice Klein is a member of the U of T Young Socialists and ran as a candidate for U of T student council president in 1971 and vice-

president in 1973. The Young Socialists is the only organization at U of T which campaigns in support of the NDP.

Cliff Mack was a leader of the anti-Amchitka actions in British Columbia.

The Young Socialists intend to fight these exclusionary moves which, like the attack on the Waffle, is a blow to the democracy of the NDP. Such a witchhunt of socialists and young militants has no place in a working class party. The membership of the NDP has the right to be presented with all perspectives for social change, not just those of Vichert and the leadership. The Young Socialists call on all NDP members to condemn these exclusions.

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working people. We participate in these struggles in order to help them realize their maximum strength and achieve their goals. We also support Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, and work to win NDPers away from the conservative politics of the leadership, to a socialist program.

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Education cutbacks

A debate:

Canadian nationalism

Key lessons of high school Bill of Rights struggles

by STUART RUSSELL, VANCOUVER

Recently significant struggles of large numbers of high school students have taken place around the world. These mobilizations of high school youth have challenged the authoritarianism and repression of the schools, and have been important components of major social struggles. In May 1971 2,500 English high school students demonstrated against repressive school regulations, demanding control over the running of their schools. Three thousand Australian high school students walked out in September 1972 demanding full democratic rights. Earlier this year hundreds of thousands of French high school youth poured into the streets against the militarist Debre law.

Demands for full democratic rights have been at the center of high school struggles in Canada. In Winnipeg this was expressed in a major victorious student strike at West Kildonan High School for non-compulsory class attendance. Students at Toronto's Harbord Collegiate school initiated a militant campaign for recognition and implementation of a Student Bill of Rights. In an attempt to undercut this effort the Board of Education set up an investigation committee to study public opinion on this issue, while denying the need for a high school Bill of Rights. In Ottawa last year, students also began a Bill of Rights campaign. Most recently Vancouver h.s. students have begun to organize. The 115-member Greater Vancouver Student Union plans to press the School Board for a bill of rights, which would include freedom of the student press, non-compulsory attendance, student control of discipline and student-teacher decision-making in the schools.

These developments point to an increasing willingness of high school students to fight for their rights. They are no longer prepared to passively accept the trampling of their human rights. They are moved by worldwide social problems and refuse to be prisoners in schools irrelevant to those problems.

High school upsurges have questioned the very nature of the schools. In order to understand these struggles, we must turn our attention to the factors which produce them.

Typical of contemporary high schools is the censorship of student newspapers and election speeches of radical candidates, corporal punishment, detentions, un-

necessary exams as a form of punishment, compulsory class attendance, banning of radical speakers and literature and of course boring irrelevant classes which deliberately brush aside key controversial topics. In some Quebec schools police patrol the hallways and we can be expelled at the blink of a principal's eye.

Struggles have erupted which have challenged these inhuman conditions. The right of students to organize political clubs has been a central fight between students and administrations in the past; first in defence of New Democratic Youth clubs, and later antiwar clubs and antiwar assemblies in the high schools.

Why are we denied our democratic rights?

High schools play an important role in today's society, taking over parental responsibilities during the day time. They preach the prevailing morals of society, teach acceptance of authority and respect for the status-quo. Thus they are rigid, prison-like, stifling institutions which exclude radical views and where little real learning can occur.

As the Quebec teachers put it, "the schools serve the ruling class." Big business requires obedient, disciplined workers to keep the cogs of capitalism running smoothly. The tracking of students into occupational courses helps to funnel students directly onto the assembly lines. Sex-role stereo typing is reinforced in the schools. Women are thrown into home economics or secretarial courses, and men into auto-mechanics. Deviations from these norms are discouraged and frowned upon.

So democratic rights are severely limited in order to keep students in subjection, and to produce the kind of human product best suited to big business needs.

Why do students need democratic rights? Not only because they are basic human rights to which all are entitled. We need our rights in order to exercise them — to organize students in their own interests. The struggle for democratic rights is part of the struggle to turn the schools into organizing centers for social change, centers for discussion and action on social problems, like the Amchitka bomb, the Vietnam war, women's oppression, national rights for Quebec, cutbacks and poverty. The schools must serve the interests of the majority — women, native peoples,



High school walkouts protested education cutbacks, Toronto 1971.

Quebecois, the millions of working people.

Leaders of the Bill of Rights struggles have not always understood the big questions involved.

The concept of student-faculty-staff control over discipline, all course material, hiring and firing of staff etc., is not always supported. Yet many university struggles around such demands have taken place and the potential exists in the high schools for similar developments. The schools should be run by the majority, not by a few old men, but by the students, teachers and staff who study, teach and work there.

In general, teachers should be seen as valuable allies in the fight for high school rights. Difficult working conditions and widespread cutbacks make their interests incompatible with those of the administrations and government. The denial of students' rights is never in the interest of teachers. Student-teacher antagonism is one of the key ways that rule of the schools is maintained.

At West Kildonan the daily mass student meetings which decided the course of the struggle were fundamental to its victory. In the Debre uprising in France, high school students elected democratic strike committees from every school to help coordinate the movement on a national scale.

We have also learned the need to organize independently of school authorities in order to defend the struggle from cooption. While certain concessions can be wrung from administrations, they can never be committed supporters of our struggle, being nothing less than agents for the implementation of government and school board policies.

The greatest striking power is obtained through the independent mass mobilization of students in democratic actions. Specific repressive acts or victimizations often become springboards for huge student rights struggles which can win valuable public support and demonstrate the need for democratic rights in the schools. On many occasions high school activists have bent to pressure and coercion, placing their trust in

backroom negotiations with the administration. Any agreements reached in this way are soon overturned by the administration, once the struggle has subsided. Only the militant action of large numbers of students can win and defend real victories. A high school Bill of Rights becomes meaningful not merely through a school board rubber stamp, but when masses of students have struggled to win its implementation, and are prepared to defend it against future attacks.

The mobilization of high school youth around the burning issues of the day is central to the struggle for high school rights. The schools must be revolutionized from centers of repression to powerhouses for social change. They must be part of the growing movements against a decaying social order. All the human and physical resources of the schools should be directed to the task of eliminating the reactionary, oppressive regime and establishing a socialist society based on the fundamental interests of the majority.

High school youth, the future of society, will continue to be the backbone of struggles for a better world. They were consistent activists in the antiwar movement. The massive high school Amchitka protests led the B.C. labor movement to down tools in the first major work stoppage since 1919. Across the country high school students will be discussing the education cutbacks and considering militant action, together with teachers, to defend their rights to decent education. Women will be organizing in the schools to defend Dr. Morgentaler, a victim of Canada's anti-abortion laws. These struggles will once again expose the repressive nature of the schools, showing the need for full democratic rights for high school students.

Members of the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes will be in the front ranks of these struggles. In such battles we want to convince more and more students of the need to change not only the repression of the schools, but the entire system. If you agree with this perspective, then you should join us.

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Soldiers patrol streets in Santiago.

CHILE

- Protest repression in Chile -p. 2
- Why Allende fell -p. 3

Defend Dr. Morgentaler -p. 12

Socialists in Quebec election
-p. 6-7



WHICH WAY FOR NUS?

by Jim Upton

On October 19-21 the second annual meeting of the National Union of Students is taking place at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. This meeting occurs at a time of growing unrest among youth and students.

The failure of this society to meet even the most pressing human needs is becoming increasingly apparent. Students are no longer accepting a society of pollution and poverty, oppression and violence. And they are rebelling against an educational system which bolsters and justifies the status quo. Moreover, students have repeatedly shown their willingness to move into action for social change.

Women's liberation has become a central issue on the campuses. The publication of the UBC Status of Women Report, which showed how the university perpetuates the oppression of women, provoked a big discussion on that campus. The Ontario Federation of Students and the U of T SAC Women's Committee are organizing a province-wide women's conference for the end of October which could involve several hundred student women. Women's studies courses have been established on most major campuses and are meeting with an overwhelming response. Women's groups and organizations are actively campaigning in defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, for women's right to abortion, for 24-hour university-financed childcare and for an end to discrimination in hiring and admissions.

Over the past few years students across the country have mobilized against government cutbacks and in defense of their right to a decent education — a right for which students and working people have fought for decades. Fee hikes; higher residence costs; freezes on capital expenditures; expulsions of students for financial reasons as in Quebec; budget slashing on campuses resulting in the loss of faculty, staff and courses — all these pose a big challenge to the student movement.

The federal Peitchinis report, the Worth report of Alberta and the Davis report in Ontario outline long-range government plans to restructure education, shifting the burden of costs onto students and working people and streamlining the system to better meet the needs of big business.

In Quebec the cutbacks have been more widespread and severe than in English Canada. At University of Quebec last term students went on strike for five weeks against the administration's decision to expel students who were unable to pay their fees in full. This struggle in defense of students is a continuing one.

The biggest attack has been the declassification of hundreds of Quebec teachers with substantial reductions in salary, in order to cut back on education spending. Faced with massive protests against declassification, involving students as well as teachers, the government actually cancelled the school semester at CEGEP St. Laurent and threatened similar action in other CEGEPs. The current wave of mass high school walkouts in Montreal in solidarity with teachers' withdrawal of extracurricular services demonstrates the heightening of the struggle against declassification.

The Quebec government's attempts to close down 40 French schools represents a major attack on the national language of the Quebecois.

Newly developed "discipline" codes have recently been adopted at University of Alberta and University of Toronto. These "law and order" codes establish means of dealing with any student activities considered by the administrations to be "disruptive" or "unauthorized." Both codes seriously limit such basic freedoms as freedom of speech and assembly, and establish undemocratic court procedures and stiff penalties to be enforced when "violations" occur. Students' hard-fought rights are seriously threatened by these policies.

The extension of the current boycott of scab grapes and lettuce to Canada has brought organizers of the United Farm Workers Union into many metropolitan centers. Students at U of T were successful in getting a sizeable grant from SAC to help organize the boycott in Toronto. Efforts are also being made to take the boycott into university cafeterias and dining halls. And students are playing a central role in building meetings in support of the Farm Workers on the campus and in helping to organize picketing in downtown areas.

Students have also been the first to move out in opposition to the recent military coup in Chile. Large campus meetings and demonstrations across the country have given rise to numerous committees demanding an end to the repression in Chile, democratic rights for the Chilean masses and asylum in Canada for Chilean refugees and Latin American exiles.

The challenge facing the NUS is to respond to these and other issues of concern to students. Is NUS going to be based

on and responsible to the majority of students or is it going to remain an elite grouping of student councilors? Is NUS going to commit itself to a program of fundamental change and to building a powerful student movement or will it restrict itself to providing student services?

A National Union of Students has the potential of becoming an effective instrument in the struggle to transform the universities and this society to meet the needs of the majority.

In order to do this it must adopt a program which reflects the real, burning interests of students. The NUS must take clear, unequivocal positions against the cutbacks, for free tuition, for a living wage for students, guaranteed summer jobs and jobs on graduation, taxing the corporations to pay for education, student-faculty-staff control of the universities, and the rejection of repressive discipline codes. The NUS must be fully committed to the struggle for women's liberation, providing campus facilities for organizing



Jim Upton

feminist campaigns. It must support the right of Quebec to self-determination and oppose any attacks on the national language of the Quebecois. Struggles such as the grape and lettuce boycotts and Chilean solidarity actions deserve full NUS support.

These struggles can only be won through the united and democratic mass action of students. The NUS must be based on fully democratic discussions and decision-making of students. Special general meetings and teach-ins on major questions must be organized. NUS cannot be effective in representing students' interests if it meets behind closed doors in largely unpublicized meetings.

With a correct program and wide democratic discussion and decision-making, NUS can play a valuable role in coordinating and leading the actions of students. This is the challenge which is posed to the delegates.

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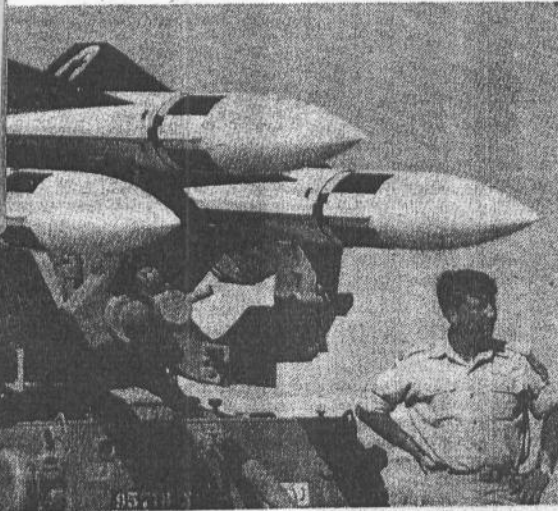
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Women and the Chinese revolution

- p. 6-7



Struggles of the student movement



In July of this year the Commissioner of Education for the British Columbia NDP government appointed the B.C. Educational Student Task Force, a group of seven high school students, to investigate the feasibility of a province-wide student organization and publication. The Task Force has solicited briefs from individuals and groups on "the potential of a province-wide group, the types of issues that should be voiced by this group, organizational problems and suggestions."

The following are excerpts from the brief submitted to the Task Force by the Vancouver Young Socialists.

In the words of the Vancouver Province (major daily newspaper) a "students' union might become little more than an imposing vehicle for a small handful of agitators and trouble-makers who will do more to hamper education than to improve it."

Such a vociferous response from establishment representatives like the Province shows their fear of the independent organization and mobilization of students. They understand all too well the tremendous potential impact of the student movement. One has only to look at the scope of the 1971 Amchitka actions to get a feeling of the power an organized high school student movement can have.

The last few years have seen a significant increase in high school student struggles around the world. There have been huge mobilizations of secondary school students in Britain, Australia, Belgium and elsewhere. In France just last year, hundreds of thousands of high school students mobilized against the militarist Debre Law.

Here in Canada many thousands of high school students have been involved in militant actions over the last few years. Most dramatic of these was the 1971 Amchitka upsurge when over 50,000 students across the country walked out of their schools and here

in B.C. sparked a work stoppage by B.C. labor.

At West Kildonan Collegiate in Winnipeg students won their demands for non-compulsory class attendance through a militant strike which drew significant teacher and community support. In Ontario students have organized walk-outs for the past three years to protest the cutbacks in education spending. Just this September in Montreal over 15,000 English secondary school students took part in walk-outs in solidarity with teachers who were opposing declassification.

High school students were the backbone of the antiwar movement and high school women are increasingly becoming involved in the developing feminist movement.

This is what frightens the Province; the deepening radicalization of high school youth and their increasing willingness to struggle. Many students are no longer prepared to passively accept the trampling of their human rights. They are moved by world-wide social problems and refuse to be prisoners in schools irrelevant to those problems. It is the fact that high school upsurges have questioned the very nature of the schools and the education system which bothers the Province.

As the Quebec teachers put it, "the schools serve the ruling class," meaning that they are designed to ensure that society continues to function the way it does — in the service of the handful of businessmen who own and control the industries and resources of the society. Education is designed to produce the kind of human product best suited to big business needs — obedient, disciplined workers who will keep the cogs of capitalism running smoothly.

Education is supposed to have as its aim the elimination of social problems. Instead it justifies and perpetuates them. Education is supposed to foster critical thought and

Strategy for high school revolt

discussion. In reality it stifles it. Rather than encouraging students to get involved in action for social change, it represses and punishes those who do.

It is these contradictions of the school system which account for the growing radicalization among students and the potentially explosive situation in the schools.

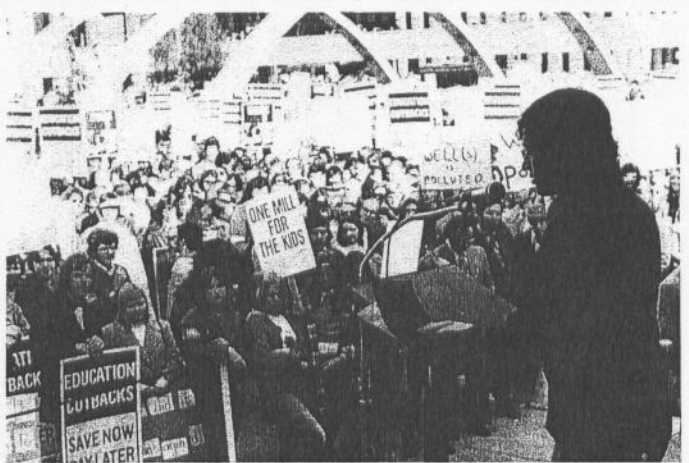
It is upon the growing radicalization and upon the mobilization of students that a B.C. union can be built.

Although the election of the NDP to government, as a party based on the trade

forcing the provincial government to implement a wide range of legislation for women's rights and in support of the B.C. Federation of Labor's campaign to repeal anti-labor legislation.

It has to champion the struggles for democracy in the schools, defending students victimized by administrations. It must lead the struggle for student-faculty-staff control of the schools.

An effective student union must base its strategy not on lobbying or negotiating with government and school officials, but on the



Young Socialist David Johnson addresses May 1973 anti-cutbacks demonstration.

unions, was a gain for students and working people in this province, they can put no trust or confidence in the government to advance their struggles. It is clear that only the mass actions of students independent of the government, the school boards and administrations will bring the high school movement any closer to a province-wide student union.

If the B.C. Federation of Students (an organization set up by Task Force members) is to be successful in organizing the masses of B.C. students into a union, it has to have a clear program and strategy.

What sort of union do students need?

Students need more than an organization which will provide "services" and "information." Students need an organization committed to a program of fundamental social change, to placing the schools at the service of the majority and their struggles. Students need an organization which will champion their rights and the rights of all oppressed people.

Such a union will be forged out of the struggles of students.

The BCFS and the union it is trying to form must build all the mass movements for social change, taking them into the schools and organizing them. It should be building the campaign to defend Dr. Morgentaler whose conviction by the courts for performing abortions would be a serious blow to the rights of women. It should be organizing campaigns in defense of the victims of the recent coup in Chile and other victims of repressive regimes in Latin America. It should be organizing a broad education campaign on the issues in the Mideast conflict and a defense of the right of the Arabs to self-determination.

The BCFS can play an important role in

mass action of students. Only the majority of students organized in independent action and allied with teachers and staff can transform the education system.

A cross-province student union must be democratic from top to bottom, basing its actions on mass decision-making. Through open forums, conferences and assemblies the BCFS can promote discussion on the issues before the union and involve all students in the formation and organization of the union. The launching of a newspaper is key to this work.

The success of the BCFS over the last few months in generating interest among high school students for a union indicates the possibilities for its formation. In order to bring together the vast majority of B.C. high school students who remain as yet unorganized and uninvolved in the discussions and activities needed to build a union, the BCFS must begin organizing campaigns in the schools, mobilizing the masses of students around key social issues and in defense of their rights.

In these struggles and the discussions that they generate a B.C. union of students will be forged. It would be a big step forward for students. The Province clearly understands this and that is why the BCFS must base itself on the masses of students from the very beginning.

The struggle to change the schools is part of the broader struggle to change society. Exploitation and oppression will end only with the end of this system based on profit and with the building of a socialist society. The Young Socialists call on all youth to join us in the struggle for a socialist Canada.

Montreal students defend teachers

by Don Tapscott

The struggle of English-speaking high school students in defense of their declassified teachers continues. Ever since the high school upsurge which culminated in a massive walkout of 18,000 students in early October, there has been continued organization and action.

The fight against declassification became part of the Quebec election campaign on October 17 when students demonstrated outside the campaign headquarters of Liberal premier Bourassa. Several hundred militant students on the picket chanted "Down with Declassification!", "Justice for the Teachers, Justice for the Students!" and "Hey, Hey Cloutier, Give Our Teachers Back Their Pay!" Cloutier is the Quebec government's education minister. The declassification scheme is part of the education cutbacks and means salary reductions for hundreds of teachers.

At a cross-island meeting of the Protestant Home and School Association October 23, 600 angry teachers, students and parents grilled several Liberal cabinet ministers who had come to defend their assault on teachers.

When they claimed that declassification was simply a readjustment of classifications so that teachers with equal qualifications would receive equal pay, the ministers received little sympathy from the audience.

They received even less support for their proposal that teachers and parents should wait until after the elections to voice their protests.

One problem holding the struggle back, however, is the leadership of the inter-city school students' council which has failed to involve large numbers of students in the discussions and decisions over what strategy to follow. It has not advocated mass student assemblies to decide the next step of the struggle, and its weekly meetings have been restricted to a handful of activists who are primarily student council members. As well, this group is not responsible to any larger student body.

Unless every step of the struggle is decided in a democratic fashion in mass student meetings, the thousands of students who have shown their willingness to act cannot become involved in an ongoing way and the struggle will not become large enough to win a victory.